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CITIZEN PROTEST IN THE URBAN PLANNING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF THE NORTH SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY AREA REDEVELOPMENT PLAN

by

Michael James McGibbon

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Geography

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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Supervisor

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Date September 29, 1984

ABSTRACT

Since the early years of this century, the City of Edmonton has shown a considerable concern for the use of the valley of the North Saskatchewan river, both as an environmental reserve, and for various parks and recreational uses. In pursuit of these ends, the City followed a policy of property acquisition in the river valley, on an occasional basis. However, at the same time a considerable residential use of the river valley was permitted in neighbourhoods on the river valley flats, in the centre of the city.

These conflicting themes of development eventually clashed in 1981 when a draft area redevelopment plan bylaw was introduced to the public by the City of Edmonton. The plan proposed that all private property in the river valley be acquired by the City over a period of 15 years, and that this land be turned over to parks and recreational uses. This proposal incited an unprecedented opposition from an array of residents, both on the valley flats, and on the tops of the valley banks. Some of these residents formed an organization called the Society for the Preservation of the River Valley (S.P.R.V.), to coordinate and direct the residents' protests against the proposed bylaw.

The purpose of this thesis is to determine how the residents of the valley neighbourhoods were able to organize themselves effectively to oppose the proposed land use plan. This opposition is characterized as a process of protest

within the urban political system. Three avenues of investigation are followed. First, the extent to which the valley residents were actively involved in the organized opposition to the proposed bylaw is investigated, using responses to a questionnaire survey distributed to 190 river valley residents. Second, an attempt is made to determine if the particular segment of the residential population in the river valley that was responsible for the development and running of the protest against the proposed bylaw, possessed the characteristics of gentrifiers involved in a process of revitalization. Third, the protest tactics adopted by the S.P.R.V., in pursuit of their political goal of a change in the river valley policy, are described using information collected from minutes of meetings of the S.P.R.V., supplemented by data from interviews with community organizers, residents, and a review of newspaper articles. Additional information for the thesis was collected by reviewing historical sources such as Henderson's directories, fire insurance maps, civic and federal census materials, and various City of Edmonton planning documents.

It is concluded that only a small proportion of the respondents were actively involved in the S.P.R.V. and its protest against the proposed river valley bylaw. However, a large number of the residents were motivated to become at least temporarily involved by attending one or two protest group or public meetings, or by writing a letter of protest;

and the majority of residents, at the very least, passively supported the aims of the protest.

The research also revealed that the development of an organized protest owed much to the presence of younger, white-collar and professional residents in the river valley communities. Finally, it is concluded that although the actions of the S.P.R.V. played a major role in thwarting the passage of the river valley bylaw, in the final analysis the change in the river valley policy was the result of the different composition of the Edmonton city council after the 1983 civic election; and that the protest and the election of a new kind of council reflected a general acceptance of the values of heritage conservation and neighbourhood participation in the development of plans.

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I must thank my parents for their belief in the value of academic achievement and their consequent support of my efforts, they have been instrumental in affording me the chance to continue my studies.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Background

Cox and Johnston (1982) state that an increased recognition of the importance of conflict and politics has been an important recent development in urban geography. They identify imperfections that disrupt the equilibrium-seeking processes in the city, one of which involves local interest groups and the urban issues that mobilize them to act. This thesis is focused on mobilization by an urban interest group, in the form of neighbourhood protest against a land use planning proposal. The specific topic of the study is a dispute between the City of Edmonton as a corporate body and the residents of communities in and adjacent to the valley of the North Saskatchewan River where it flows through the centre of the city. In 1981 the City of Edmonton introduced a draft bylaw that was intended to bring its longstanding river valley policy to its culmination. Council proposed to establish a city centre park system in the river valley and tributary ravines, to serve a variety of recreational and environmental purposes. This proposal would have entailed the acquisition of all land within a designated river valley redevelopment area, and the demolition of all houses and other buildings, followed by the strict control of all development that might encroach upon land designated for parks use.

This policy has been in existence at least in principle since 1907. It was not fully enforced, however, and no serious conflict occurred until 1975 when residents of Mill Creek protested plans to extend Mill Creek park. This proposal entailed the acquisition and clearance of 450 houses over a five-year period. Then, following the introduction of the 1981 draft river valley bylaw, an even more widespread conflict erupted. Property owners in the ravines and along the tops of the bank, as well as on the valley flats, actively began to organize to save their homes from replacement by parkland and recreational facilities. By December 1983 they had achieved their goal, and a major change had been effected in a longstanding policy. From an array of interest groups involved in the urban political system, the neighbourhood residential interest emerged successful.

1.2 Purpose of the Thesis

The purpose of the thesis is to determine how, within the context of the urban political system, the residential interest group in the river valley was able to mobilize itself into an effective community protest organization. The specific objectives of the thesis are, first, to determine the extent of resident involvement in the mobilization; second, to determine whether certain types of residents tended to be most closely involved in the mobilization; and, third, to describe the means used by

those people mobilized to protest, in their efforts to change the proposed land use planning policy for the river valley.

Since the protest was essentially a group activity, and since the protest group is described throughout the thesis as a "community", that term should be defined here. The concept of community usually involves the idea of a group of people, who live in close proximity to one another, meeting together for the purpose of taking action on some issue. Ross (1955 :40) defines community organization as "a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, develops the confidence or will to work at these needs, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action in respect to them, and in doing so extends and develops co-operative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community". In this sense the thesis presents a case study of community organization. The community of concern is comprised of a number of geographically distinguishable neighbourhoods in the valley of the North Saskatchewan River, but its real unity comes from the direct interest of the residents of those neighbourhoods in the fate of the proposed river valley bylaw. Their definition as a community depends upon the fact that they organized themselves to influence the course of public decision making in their own favour.

1.2.1 Summary of the Thesis Structure

In this chapter a conceptual framework is constructed in order to give organization to the study. The research methods used in the study are described as well. Then in Chapter 2 a review of theoretical literature is presented. This begins with a brief discussion of the general concepts of power and influence as a prelude to a consideration of alternative approaches to the interpretation of "community power", that is the power to affect public decision making within the urban community. The discussion is then focused down to the neighbourhood scale, and concludes with a review of research on the ways that neighbourhood groups attempt to exercise power through protest in order to influence the revitalization process. Revitalization of inner-city neighbourhoods through a process of gentrification forms the specific context of this thesis.

Chapter 3 traces the historical development of the river valley neighbourhoods and the evolution of public policy with respect to the valley. Two conflicting themes of development, which eventually culminated in the river valley dispute, are described, as are the events of the dispute and the development of an organized protest group. In Chapter 4 the elements of the river valley dispute are placed in the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 1. This chapter concludes with three research questions that correspond with the objectives stated in section 1.2. The first and second questions are addressed in Chapters 5 and

6, respectively, using data from a survey of river valley residents. In Chapter 7, the third question is addressed using information collected from minutes of meetings, newspaper articles, interviews, planning department reports and personal communications. Finally, in Chapter 8 the principal conclusions that can be drawn from the thesis are presented, along with recommendations for future research.

1.2.2 Research Methods

Data for this study were collected by means of a questionnaire survey (Appendix 1), taped interviews with community group organizers, and a review of relevant planning documents and newspaper articles. Initially, past newspaper articles and planning documents were reviewed in order to gain background information on the history of the river valley dispute. This also helped in the identification of popular attitudes and perceptions held by the valley residents, city council and the planners. A continuous view of newspaper articles helped to keep me up to date with developments in the dispute between 1982 and 1984. This was particularly important since the research was initiated during the course of the dispute, and faced the problem of constantly changing events to which it had to adjust. Interviews were conducted with representatives of the valley neighbourhoods, planners, and the media. These interviews were taped and later transcribed. The interviews were mostly unstructured, and the subjects were free to

express their opinions about the river valley policy and the protest against that policy. Informal interviews were also conducted with residents in the valley neighbourhoods, while the questionnaire survey was being administered to any of the principle adults in the household. These were mostly impromptu, occurring whenever residents felt confident to offer their views. The insights gained in the various interviews helped greatly in supplementing the questionnaire since they provided insight directly into the attitudes of the valley residents and the planning department. Attempts to interview city aldermen were unsuccessful due to their preparations for an imminent civic election in the the summer and fall of 1983.

The study area within which the questionnaire survey was to be distributed was originally delimited by the boundary of the river valley redevelopment area as defined by the city planners in 1981 (figures 1.1 and 1.2). However, only three residents in areas on the tops of the valley banks and in some ravine areas cooperated with the survey, despite several approaches. As a consequence, the study was focused upon the inner-valley neighbourhoods of Rossdale, Cloverdale, Lavigne, Centertown and Mill Creek, as indicated on Figure 1.2. These were at the centre of controversy in the river valley dispute.

In administering the questionnaire a simple random sampling technique was used in Rossdale and Cloverdale, but in Lavigne and Centretown, which are very small, an effort

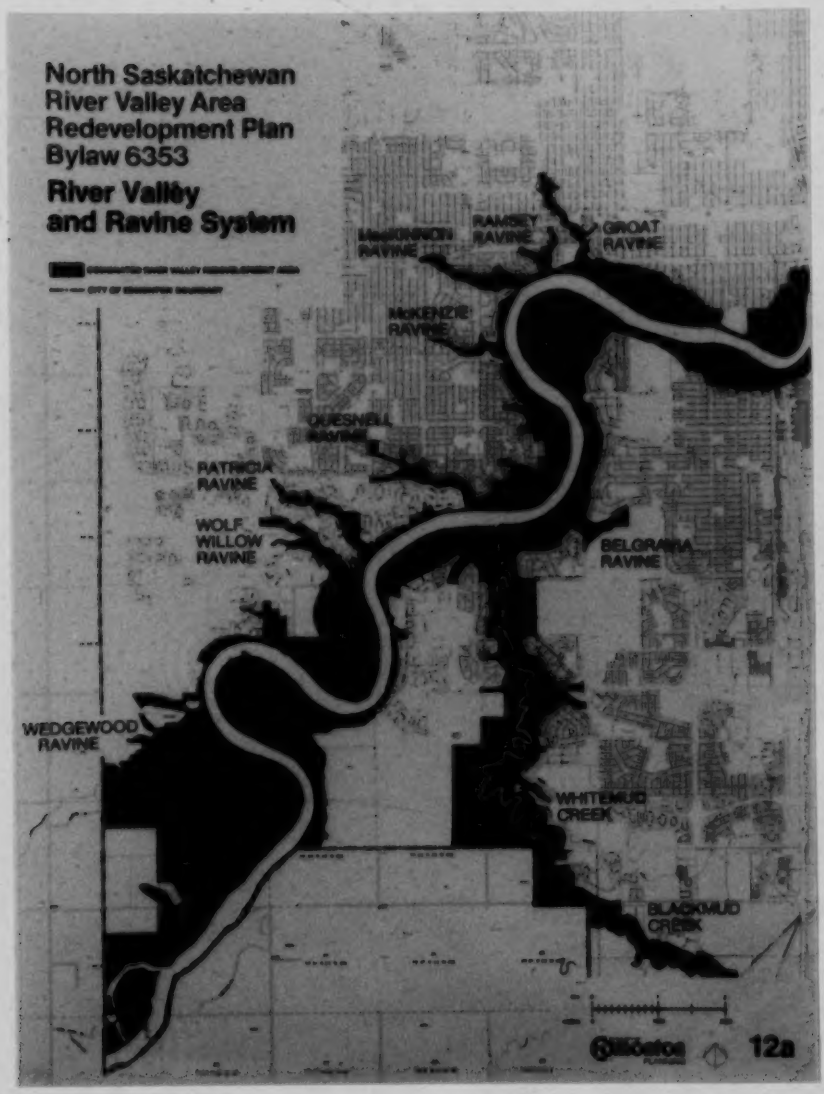


Figure 1.1 CENTRAL AND SOUTH-WESTERN PORTION OF THE RIVER VALLEY REDEVELOPMENT AREA

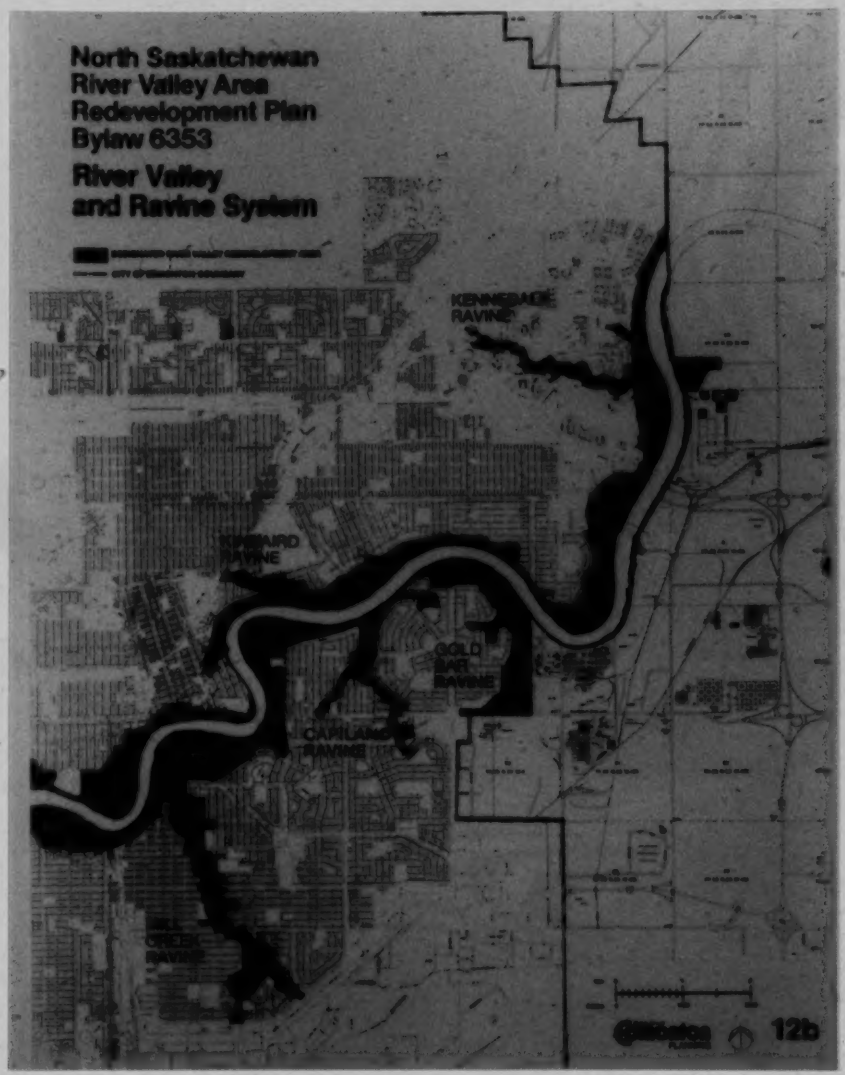


Figure 1.2 CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN PORTION OF THE RIVER VALLEY REDEVELOPMENT AREA

was made to include all the households. In Rossdale, where the sample frame was 140 dwelling units, a sample of 81 houses (58%) was initially selected using random numbers tables. Seven of the householders refused to have anything to do with the survey, leaving a total of 74 questionnaires (a 53% sample) to be distributed. Fifty-five were successfully collected, a 74% rate of return or 39% of the Rossdale households. In Cloverdale the same method was used and 114 houses (65.5%) were chosen from a total of 174. Seventy questionnaires were collected, representing a 61% rate of return and 40% of the neighbourhood. Lavigne contains 29 houses and 24 questionnaires were successfully collected, representing a 83% return. In Centretown 25 questionnaires were successfully collected from a total of 38 houses, yielding a 66% return. Those not collected were either refused outright or were never completed despite three return visits by the researcher. In the Mill Creek area the survey was distributed to 31 houses, and 16 were collected, representing a 51% return.

In administering the survey it was felt that personal distribution and collection would be the most suitable means to ensure a high rate of return. Four reasons are cited:

1. The river valley dispute has for long been a controversial issue, raising heated emotions among those concerned. As a consequence, it was thought that a personal approach was the best way of explaining what the research was about and so allaying residents'

suspicions that answering questions could adversely affect their chances of remaining in the valley neighbourhoods. In a number of cases a response was achieved only after the resident was sure that I was not an employee of the City of Edmonton.

2. Personal contact with the respondents meant that they could express their views or knowledge to me directly, often providing an extra insight into the dispute or contacts with other useful sources of information.
3. The presence of a surveyor at the respondents' homes meant that they had a greater incentive to complete the survey than if it was mailed to them. When return visits were necessary, the householder would often complete the survey on the spot rather than ignore it. On numerous occasions, questions about the survey could be conveniently answered. This approach undoubtedly helped to increase the rate of returns.
4. By personally administering the survey it was possible to gain a better overall impression of the nature of the valley communities and their residents. This can only help in interpreting the information collected.

Despite these advantages, personal administration of the survey posed a number of problems. First, because I was working alone I spent a great deal of time travelling around the neighbourhoods and explaining or defending the nature of the research to suspicious residents. Second, the survey was administered during the election campaign preceding the

1983 civic election. The valley residents were constantly being called upon by election canvassers and by community organizers asking residents to vote for those who would save the neighbourhoods. Some residents were themselves active in the election campaign as canvassers. In this situation residents were often not disposed to cooperate with yet another caller, especially when a questionnaire survey was involved. Third, there was only a limited amount of time each day when the survey could reasonably be delivered and collected. Usually the period between 6.00pm and 10.00pm was used. Before this time and after, the residents were either not home from work or were reluctant to be called upon. The most difficult people to gain assistance from were the elderly who tended to be very suspicious of callers in the evenings. It is therefore probable that they are under-represented in the survey. Fourth, due to the need to design a questionnaire to suit a wide range of socio-economic types, some compromises had to be made in the style of language, length of question, and overall length of the survey. Still, the methods adopted for this thesis have been used by nearly all researchers interested in community power and protest in city politics, according to Troustine and Christensen (1982).

The data collected in the questionnaire survey were coded into a quantifiable format amenable to computer processing. For closed-ended questions, predetermined category numbers served as response codes. Using the SPSSX

computer statistical package, frequency distributions and crosstabulation analysis were applied to the data. Crosstabulation was used because it gives an indication of the strength of a relationsip between variables, shows the direction of the relationship, and presents the data for scrutiny. A .05 level of statistical significance was accepted for the analysis, but in hindsight it was felt that this was probably too rigorous, and consequently some non significant data was used in the analysis. In analysing the responses to the survey the biggest problem to be faced was the fact that the total number of respondents in the communities was comparatively small. Thus, despite a relatively good rate of return for the questionnaires, the number of responses available for analysis by crosstabulation proved to be small. In a number of cases crosstabulations were excluded from the analysis due to an excessive number of small cells in the related matrix. Although the survey method worked quite well in this study, it suffers from a certain rigidity when respondents are asked forced choice questions. Often the answers do not give a complete picture of an issue. For this reason the use of the interviews, and review of newspapers and planning documents was vital in trying to fill gaps in information provided by the questionnaire.

1.3 The Conceptual Framework Of The Thesis

A systemic model was used to build the organizational framework of the thesis. This allowed ideas about power and politics in the urban planning process to be incorporated from various theoretical viewpoints. It also provided a structure from which to analyse the roles of the various actors in the urban political system and allowed the range of influences that affected the river valley dispute to be addressed. The systems approach to urban politics was first presented by Easton (1953) and developed through the 1960s. By the 1970s it was being used extensively as the organizing framework for research into urban politics (Goldsmith 1980).

1.3.1 A Model of the Urban Political System and its Environment

Goldsmith (1980:34) defines a system as "anything whose parts interact to make a whole". A systems approach involves the analysis of two sets of relationships: those among all the elements that make up the system; and those between the system and its environment, that is, anything not included within the system. Very simply, the political system is an open system, responding to changes in its environment in such a way that the environment is affected in turn. Open systems also tend to have an equilibrium seeking capacity when faced with environmental change (Goldsmith 1980). A political system, for example, acting under a certain set of circumstances, will produce outputs

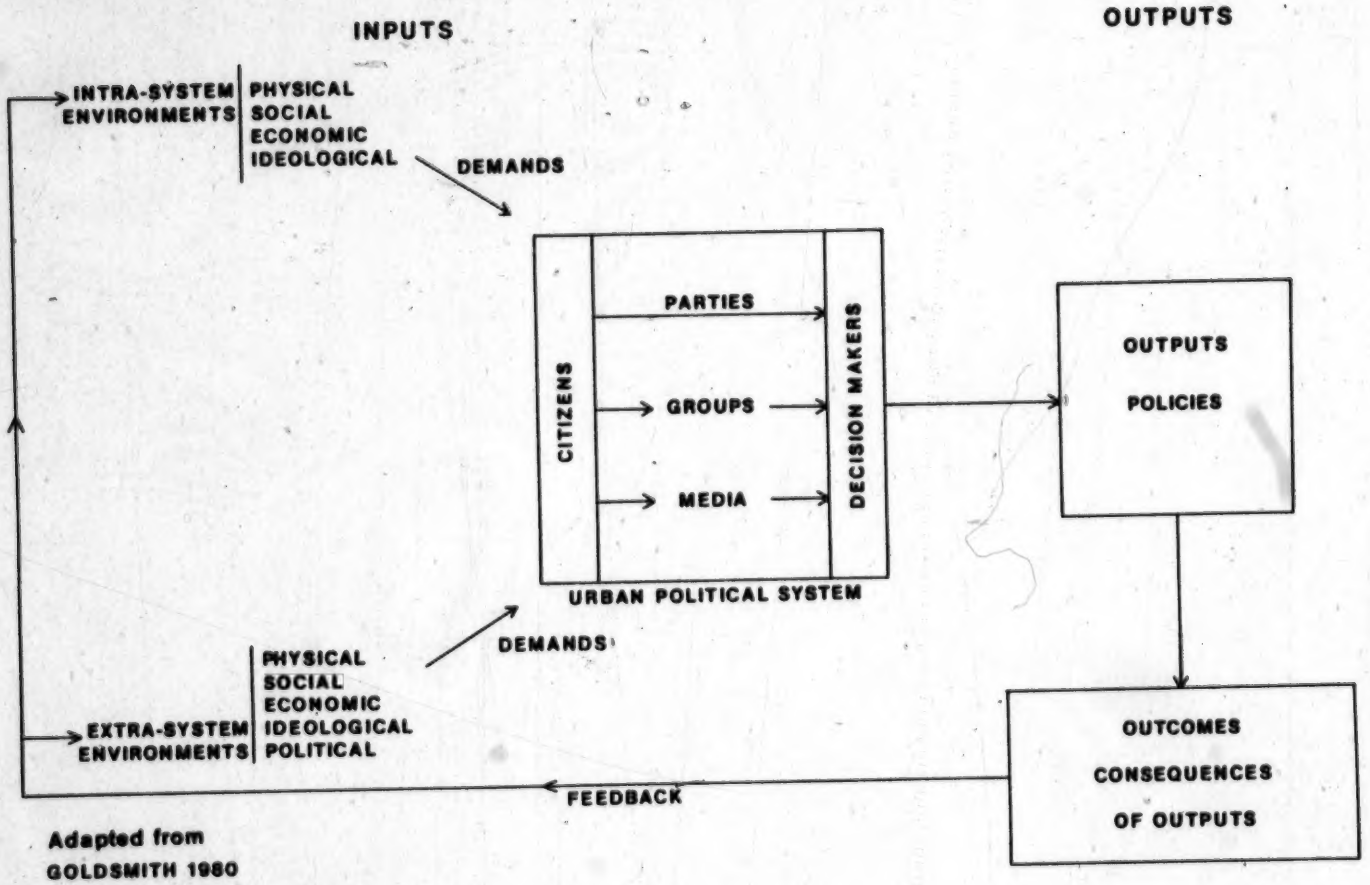
in the form of policies. However, if there is a change in the circumstances in which the policies were produced, then the system may have to adapt the policies to suit the new situation.

Goldsmith applied these ideas to the field of urban politics (figure 1.3). He characterized local administrative areas as political systems comprising the following basic elements:

1. Members or residents acting in their political capacity.
2. Formal and informal decision makers(the political authorities).
3. The rules of the game (or regime).

Included within the boundaries of the local political system are such organizations as local political parties, interest, pressure or protest groups, and the local media. These organizations can act as channels of communication between the residents (the political community) and the decision makers (politicians and planners). They can articulate the needs and demands of the residents to the decision makers as aggregators of local interests and demands. The systems approach to the study of urban politics is concerned with the interaction of such interest groups in the municipal decision-making process. In the case of the river valley land use dispute in Edmonton, political activity was largely centered around a protest by valley residents against the City's property acquisition proposals. This protest forms the central focus of the

Figure 1.3 THE URBAN POLITICAL SYSTEM



Adapted from
GOLDSMITH 1980

thesis.

The political system will respond to changes in its environment. It will also, in its turn, seek to control,influence or adapt its environment. These interactions apply at two levels which Easton (1953) styled intra-system and extra-system environments.

1. The term intra-system environment is a misnomer, since the "environment", by definition, is external to the system, but Easton meant the term to refer to those aspects of the political environment that pertain most directly to the local political system. These he classified as social, physical, economic, and ideological environments. Ideology is defined here as a set of ideas, beliefs, prejudices and doctrines held by an individual, group or class. The ideological environment thus embraces the values and perceptions of citizens, politicans, and other actors in the political system. The social environment includes such features as the local social structure and local socio-demographic characteristics. Physical environment refers to the location of the political system, its topographical features, climate and the like. Economic environment includes the state of the local economy, the local tax base and industrial and commercial activity.
2. The extra-system environments are responsible for influences that operate less directly upon the local political system. They include the national and

international economic environments, the wider political and social environments, and associated ideologies. The extra-system environments set the wider context within which the local system operates, providing a number of opportunities which affect its response.

Environmental changes can be distinguished into two types: those generating supports for the urban political system and its components; and those generating demands to which the system must respond in terms of producing outputs. Inasmuch as this thesis is focused on residents' protests against a public policy proposal, the concept of demands is of central concern. These demands are what the citizens want or feel they need.

As environmental changes take place, they are picked up by the urban political system. Demands may also be made from within the system itself. But whether the source is external or internal, the demands have to be articulated by individuals (citizens) or by groups and organizations within the system before the system can react to them. Demands flow through the urban political system, some gaining force, others diminishing, until they reach their target, those public authorities who make the binding decisions for the community. These decisions are the outputs of the political system, and they may take the form of either policies or services. For purposes of the thesis research, policy is regarded as a statement of intentions to do something about a problem or issue.

The two final links in the system are outcomes and feedback. Outcomes are the intended and unintended consequences of outputs. Feedback is the process by which the outcomes and outputs are channelled back into the various environments, helping to set off new changes to which the system must again respond.

1.3.2 Protest As A Means To Influence Decision Makers

One way in which citizens can articulate their demands to the decision makers is by the use of protest against policy proposals.

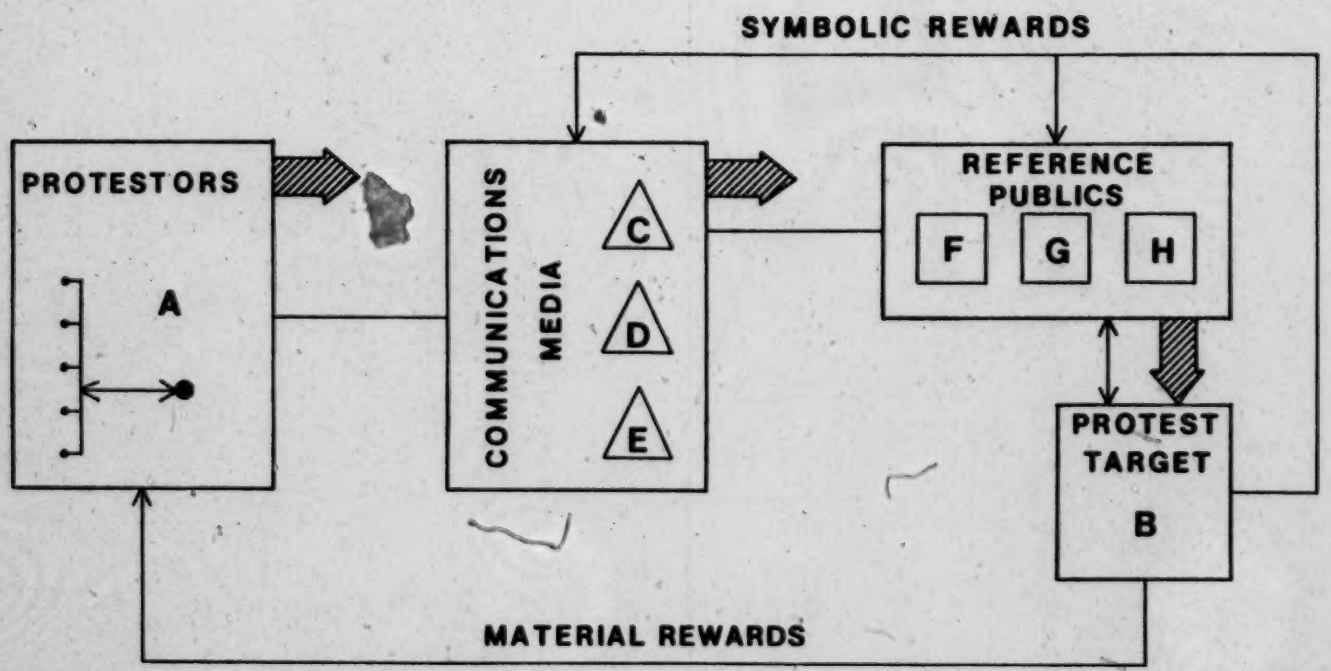
The neighbourhood organization that sprang up in Edmonton to oppose the proposed property acquisitions under the river valley land use policy can best be understood as a protest group. It is therefore necessary to examine the dynamics of the process of protest. Lipsky (1970 :2) has defined protest activity as "a mode of political action oriented towards objection to one or more policies or conditions...and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems." Lipsky regards protest as one of the few ways in which relatively powerless groups can create bargaining resources. He examined the maintenance and enhancement needs of local protest groups engaged in civic controversy in New York, and described what is needed for a group to organize, articulate its needs and maximize its chances for success. His major concern was with the opposition of neighbourhoods to public policy, their

interaction with public officals and the extent to which they were influential in changing public policy. Sharp (1982) and Nachmias and Palen (1982) have shown a similar concern with the critical factors accounting for the success or failure of neighbourhood protest groups.

Lipsky has presented a schematic representation of the process of protest (figure 1.4), which he regards as being highly indirect. The communications media and certain "reference publics" of protest targets play vital roles. A group A, which wants to bargain with another group B, aims to create political resources by activating other groups to enter the conflict. A then organizes to take action against B with respect to certain goals. Information concerning these goals must be conveyed through the communications media C,D and E to F,G and H, which are reference publics of B. These reference publics are indicators of general public opinion about issues. They correspond to the parties, groups and media in Goldsmith's systemic model (Figure 1.3). Depending on the reactions of F,G and H, or in anticipation of their reactions, B will respond to the protestors' demands in some way. If the influence of the reference publics is supportive of the protest goals, then the target group B (the decision makers in Goldsmith's model) will dispense rewards or satisfactions to the protest constituents. The rewards may be (a) symbolic, such as a walking tour press conference in the community, to give the appearance of interest in its problems and of commitment to

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE PROCESS OF PROTEST IN CITY POLITICS

Figure 1.4



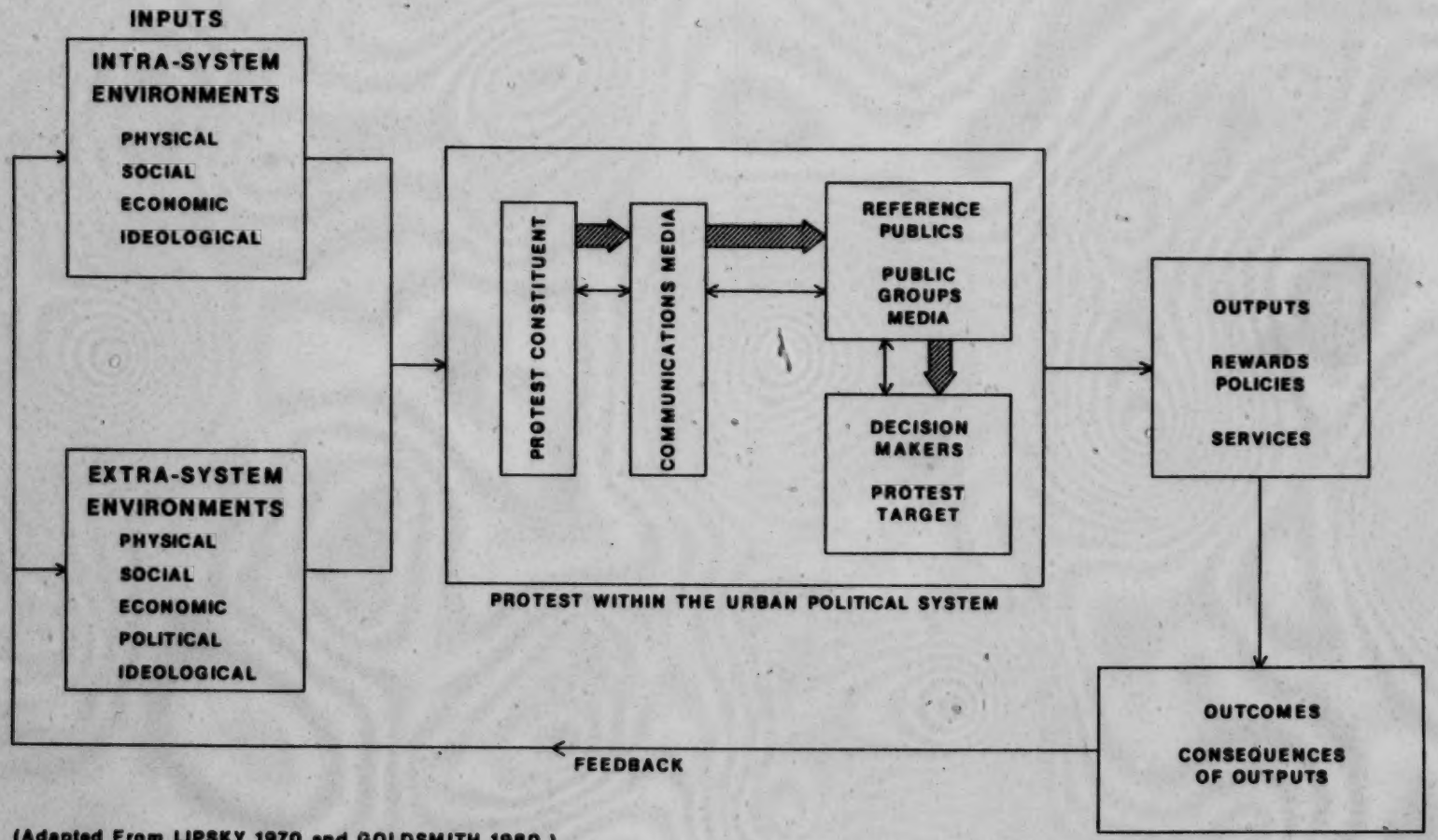
Adapted from Lipsky 1970

solve them; (b) token material rewards, whereby the city agency responds with great publicity, giving the impression that a general solution is being implemented, when really only one case is resolved; or (c) material rewards, which means the demands of the protest group are granted. Two further responses by the protest target may be (d) an attempt to discredit the protestors by calling them unreasonable, uninformed and selfish or (e) delaying to act at all in the hope that the protest group will disintegrate over time, as the protestors' energy declines. Another common tactic is to postpone an action by subjecting it to a "study" until the protest activity dies down.

1.3.3 The Process of Protest Within the Urban Political System

For the purposes of analysing the river valley dispute in Edmonton, Lipsky's process of protest model was incorporated into the systemic framework in place of the box labelled "urban political system" in figure 1.3. This modified model (figure 1.5) became the conceptual framework for the thesis. A process of protest characterized the urban political system in this particular case. The intra- and extra-system environments acted to produce a situation where citizens made demands upon the decision makers in the hope of influencing them to change a public policy. Protest was the means by which those demands were articulated to the decision makers, so the citizens in Figure 1.3 became the

Figure 1.5 A SYSTEMIC MODEL OF THE URBAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT INCORPORATING THE PROCESS OF PROTEST



(Adapted From LIPSKY 1970 and GOLDSMITH 1980)

protest constituents in figure 1.5. Goldsmith's parties, groups, and media are the reference publics which, in Lipsky's model, help create a climate of opinion which in turn will affect the decision makers who are the protest target. It must be noted that the media also act as channels of communication for the transmittal of information from the protest constituents to other reference publics, such as the general public. Thus the media play two key roles in the process of protest within the urban political system.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POWER AND INFLUENCE.

2.1 Introduction

Since the thesis is concerned with an attempt to exercise influence in public decision making, this chapter begins with a review of general ideas about power and influence. The review then becomes progressively more focused, first to examine the concept of community power at the city-wide scale and then concentrating specifically on neighbourhood power. Finally, the role of community organizations in influencing the process of neighbourhood revitalization is pin-pointed, since this is the particular context within which the case study fits.

2.2 Concepts of Power and Influence

In this thesis the river valley neighbourhoods are regarded as an urban residential interest group which tried to manifest power through protest in order that demands would be met by the decision makers in the urban political system. Power and influence are widely used terms in political science and sociology. Conceptually, they are usually linked in the form that power is exercised when one person influences another to do something he would not otherwise do. In reality, however, power is a much more subtle and complex phenomenon, as Troustine and Christensen (1982) make clear. To begin, they list six sources of

power:

1. Physical strength, such as is provided by muscles or guns. This may be manifested in the use of the police or army to compel people physically to act in a certain manner.
2. Authoritative position, as possessed, for example, by monarchs, mayors and others in offical authority. Authoritative position involves institutional power. When someone in a position of authority orders something to be done, generally people will comply. A city council and its administration can exercise institutional power through such actions as the expropriation of property.
3. Wealth, which can control or influence decision making since it can be used to buy expertise, information, and the cooperation of those in positions of authority. Money can also finance lobbying by pressure (or protest) groups as a means to influence decision makers.
4. Prestige, a much more subtle source of power operating by influence. Prestige most often seems to lie with those in authoritative positions or those with money or other economic resources. As expressed by Troustine and Christensen (1982) those with the most land or other forms of capital are likely to have the most ability to influence others. In this case a person will do what others want because he respects or fears them enough to comply.

5. The command of information - this is a particularly important source of power in our advanced technological society. Information about issues, and about other actors or interest groups and their strategies, is vital to those attempting to influence the decision makers in the urban political process. The media are a vital means of controlling the flow of information. Newspapers, magazines, television and radio can be used to articulate the views, demands, perceptions and attitudes of those trying to influence the process of decision making. The command of information helps to develop the power of expertise exercised by such "experts" as planners, or those who employ, them such as city councils.
6. Personal traits - these include talent in a particular field, charisma, oratorical skill in meetings and the ability to lead, all of which can be used to influence people.

The effects of these sources of power are cumulative. For example, wealth can bring prestige but it can also buy expertise and control of information. Education can develop personal traits such as oratorical skill and the ability to speak to decision makers on the same intellectual level. Relating these ideas to the conceptual framework, the Edmonton City Council, as the decision making body and protest target, is in a position of offical authority, which the valley neighourhoods are trying to influence. Since the

case study takes place in a city, it is necessary to examine ideas about power and influence at that scale before focusing on the concept of neighbourhood power as the particular interest of this study.

2.3 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Power in the City

Political scientists and sociologists alike have attempted to understand the urban political process in relation to the notion of community power. In brief, community power studies have been concerned with the distribution of the power to determine policy. Initially, political scientists were concerned with the actual structures of government and with their selection and powers. This became known as the positional approach because it focused only on those in formal positions of power and did not acknowledge that power could exist outside the institutions of government. Then, after the Second World War, sociologists began to consider the nature of power outside these formal institutions, in the approach that became known as the community power model. According to Goldsmith (1980 :31) this "focuses attention on *who* makes the decisions in terms of city policies and on the extent to which decisions are controlled by the few (the elite) or can be influenced by many (a pluralist alternative)" Eventually, the community power debate in the literature of urban politics came to yield three theories of the distribution of power in the urban milieu: the stratificationist, pluralist

and revisionist theories. These developed in sequence and each was an attempt to identify essential elements in the dynamics of group influence.

2.3.1 The Stratificationist Approach to Community Power

The stratificationist approach is characterized by the work of Robert and Helen Lynd (1929 and 1937) and, most important of all, Floyd Hunter (1953). In their study of Middletown (actually Muncie, Indiana), the Lynds found a pyramidal power structure dominated by businessmen. They emphasized the importance of wealth and economic status in determining a group's place in the structure of influence.

The single most important development in stratificationist theory was the publication of Hunter's Community Power Structure in 1953. Hunter developed the reputational technique of research, by which he asked carefully-chosen respondents to list influential people in Atlanta, Georgia. As with the Middletown study, these lists also yielded a pyramidal structure topped by a small elite of businessmen. Most of these so-called influentials were bankers, manufacturers and businessmen who were outside the formal posts of government. Thus, Hunter introduced the idea that unseen informal means can be used to exercise power, but only in the hands of a small elite group. Hunter's interpretation did not allow for diverse groups to exercise power.

The stratificationists also recognised the control of information as vital to the wielding of power. They realized that newspapers or television could suppress an issue by ignoring it or trivializing it, or that news reports could create controversy by playing up an issue. The media as an articulator of views, perceptions, and values can set in motion a mobilization of bias which may serve one interest group or another in the urban political environment. Such a bias corresponds to the climate of opinion created by reference publics as outlined in the process of protest in Chapter 1.

2.3.2 The Pluralist Approach

A reaction to stratificationist theory developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Political scientists, led by Robert Dahl, argued that the elitist stratificationist approach underestimated the role of the politician. Dahl and the Yale school of pluralist thought therefore developed a decisional technique for studying power and influence, as an alternative to Hunter's reputational technique. They argued that cases of controversy and disagreement should be studied. The method was, first, to select key issues through newspaper coverage, observation and interviews. The decision-making processes related to these issues were then examined using interviews, observation, documentary evidence and news reports.

In his study of New Haven, Dahl (1961) made an important contribution to the study of community power when he concluded that society is fractured into hundreds of small interest groups, that there is no single elite but that power is widely spread over time and place. Dahl also introduced the idea that there is a constantly changing array of groups, coalescing and dividing issue by issue. Goldsmith's model of the urban political system recognizes such plurality since it allows that demands can be articulated to decision makers by individuals, or by groups of citizens as interest groups.

Another essential tenet of the pluralist approach is that there is a difference between the actual and potential influence people have on governmental decisions, or what is known as "slack" in the political system. Most people use their resources of time, money and energy for purposes other than gaining influence over governmental decisions. But if people feel threatened by a proposal or action, they may take up the slack in the system and mobilize their resources in opposition to unwanted actions. A process of protest, as outlined in Chapter 1, is one way in which such a mobilization might occur. However, the success of these efforts will depend on the extent to which the citizens can increase their influence by the use of wealth, prestige, command of information, and personal traits.

2.3.3 The Reaction to Pluralism : Revisionist Theory

The pluralist-stratificationist debate contributed greatly to the understanding of the way public decisions are made in the city, but the proponents became embroiled in an increasingly sterile debate over which approach was more valid. In part the differences were a reflection of different ideologies and methodological positions. Nonetheless, the community power literature made an important contribution to the study of local politics by drawing attention to the different actors or groups of actors in the decision-making process. Scholars began to distinguish between those in formal positions of power, such as aldermen, and those who have the potential to exercise power or control over local decision-making by virtue of their social and economic positions in the community. As early as 1964 Robert Presthus (1964) called for the pluralist-stratificationist debate to be resolved by combining their strengths. Each approach produced important ideas and perspectives and each used methods based on a mix of interviews, documentary evidence, newspapers, archival research, personal contact and subjective impressions.

From the mid 1960s new ideas and interpretations were developed about the sources of power in the urban environment and the means to exercise it. Critics questioned the pluralists' reliance on behaviour and their assumption that power was directly applied and observable. They argued that power was much more complex and subtle and

not necessarily susceptible to observation or documentary evidence.

Revisionists contend that the pluralists tend to subvert the objectivity of their decisional approach by rejecting elements of the exercise of power that are difficult to measure. One such an element is the non-decision, defined by Bachrach and Baratz (1970:39) as, "a decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a...challenge to the values or interests of the decision maker." In other words a non-decision is the means by which demands for change can be suppressed before they reach the political arena. Crenson (1971), for example, outlined a case where a huge steel company dominated the decision-making process in the town of Gary, Indiana even though it was politically passive. The local city council tailored proposed pollution controls to fit the needs of the steel company as they feared that too strict a set of controls would drive the company away. Public officals may also attempt to ease the threat of opposition to a proposed policy by a token response, such as appointing study groups, undertaking studies or waiting for technical reports. These may sound reassuring but none guarantees progress in dealing with an issue. During the delay caused by such tactics, a community organization such as a protest group may lose its organizational momentum and collapse. Sometimes also, officals may make a direct counter-attack by characterizing the protesters as unreasonable, selfish and uninformed, thus

trying to discredit their opponents. Such ideas are also present in the work of Lipsky (1970), who states that the reaction by the protest target to the protest group, is often one of making protestors appear unreasonable in their demands, or well-meaning but misguided.

By the 1970s revisionism took a new direction. Some social scientists began to emphasize the power of the bureaucracy in the city. They argued that through bureaucratic expertise and the power of day to day implementation of policy, bureaucrats have attained a power independent of either economic leaders or elected officals (Troustine and Christensen 1982). Consequently they are regarded by some as a dominant force in the urban political system.

Also in the 1970s some political scientists began to stress the ideologies and values of the decision makers. The British political scientist, Boaden (in Goldsmith 1980) attached much importance to what he called the political dispositions of elected representatives and administrative officals in the policy-making process. Dearlove (1973), in his study of the boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea similarly interpreted councillors' reactions to local groups as being conditioned by their perceptions, outlooks and political ideologies. Urban sociologists as well, have made contributions to this vein of research. In particular, the urban managerial thesis associated with Pahl (1975 and 1979) is a further development of the argument that what happens

in the city is strongly influenced by the ideology and values of elected representatives and officals. This represents a swing back towards an emphasis on the institutional power held by those in offical positions of authority.

Basically, the approach used in this thesis draws its rationale from pluralist theory since it recognises the potential for a neighbourhood group, as one of an array of interest groups in the city, to influence the decision makers. However, aspects of the revisionist and stratificationist theory presented in this chapter also help in understanding the nature of the river valley dispute as they apply to various aspects of the protest. There was an increasing interest in the exercize of power at the neighbourhood scale in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As part of this it has been recognized that neighbourhood associations, as urban interest groups, can exercize power in the urban political system. Consequently, the concept of neighbourhood power is addressed in the following section.

2.4 Neighbourhood Power

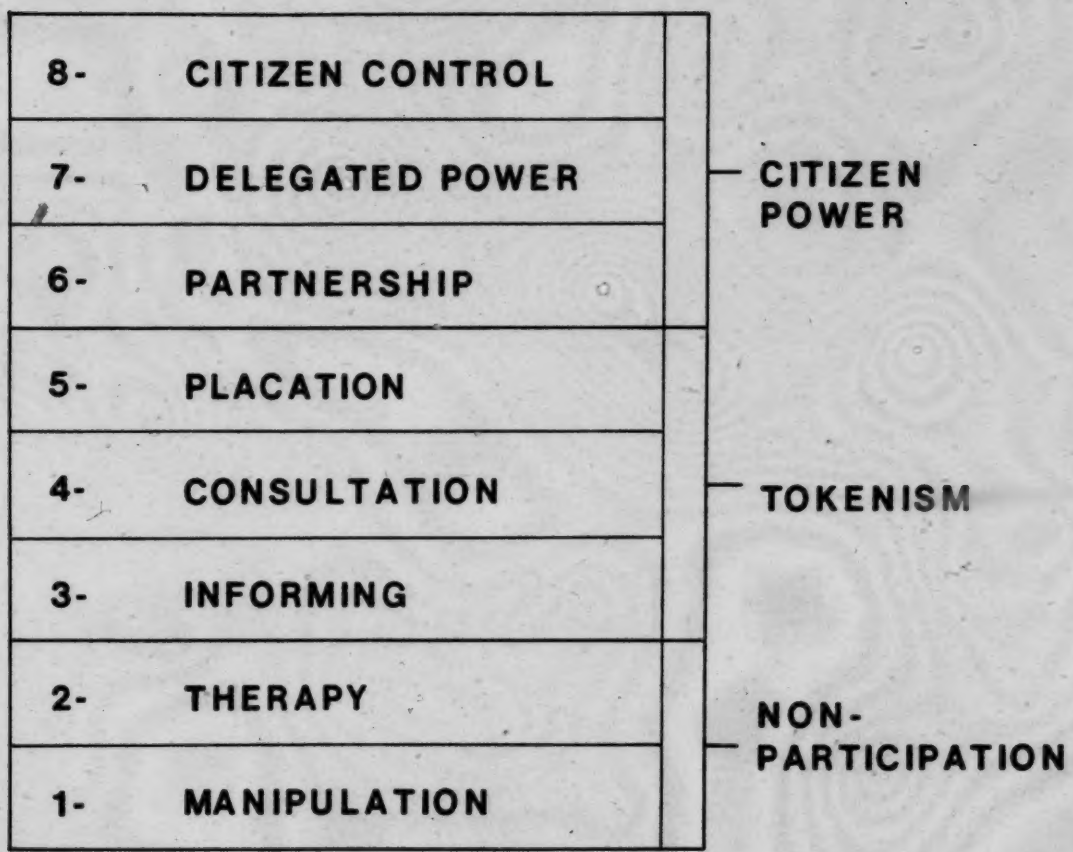
O'Brien (1975) states that there are latent bases for the conflicts that lead to protest activity, first, between individual neighbourhoods and the public bureaucracies that provide them with services, and second, among the neighbourhoods themselves. These conflicts originate from the demands made by residents who wish to improve the

quality of services they receive, whereas the public bureaucracies have an interest in keeping costs to a minimum (for example, due to a lack of money for which many neighbourhoods must compete).

O'Brien was concerned with the organization of communities and the recognition of neighbourhoods as interest groups in the decision-making process. He first defines community development as the creation of organized communities with the ability to participate actively in taking decisions that affect them directly. He then describes two approaches to community development, the first of which he calls the autonomous community, and the second the integrative community. The idea of the autonomous community can be related to the work of those like Arnstein (1969), who called for community control over local decision making. Her reaction to unrest in American cities was to explain it as being the result of a lack of effective citizen participation in the public decision-making process. She developed a ladder of citizen participation which has three basic divisions: (a) non participation, (b) tokenism and (c) effective participation (Figure 2.1). Each rung on the ladder corresponds to the degree of influence citizens have in decision making. At the bottom of the ladder, the steps labelled manipulation and therapy represent non-participation. At slightly higher steps, decision makers may inform and even consult citizens about proposals, and the citizens may express their views, but these views

Figure 2.1

A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION



Adapted from : Arnstein 1969

may be also be ignored by the decision makers, reducing participation to mere tokenism. In Arnstein's view the only effective participation comes about when citizens have some degree of power. At the ultimate level, citizen control, power would be decentralized to autonomous units at the neighbourhood level.

In contrast, the integrative view can be seen in the idea of government based on function. It means that certain functions would be centrally controlled while others would be decentralized, with control at the local level. In the integrative approach it is regarded as vital that the individual communities or neighbourhoods should be integrated into the larger society. The need for some local autonomy is accepted, while at the same time it is recognized that central authority is vital in order to allow major decisions, affecting the members of all the local communities or neighbourhoods, to be made without problems of conflict of interest among those communities. O'Brien does not regard the goals of integration as beyond reconciliation with those of local autonomy. He says that they should not be abandoned, but that they need to be reconceptualized in such a way that they are realizable within the existing parameters of the "urban milieu" (O'Brien 1975). This reconceptualization calls for two things: treating the neighbourhood as a latent interest group, that is, a group which possesses the potential to act when it becomes necessary to protect or promote its

interests, by taking up the slack in the political system; and formulating a framework that considers the relationship between the needs of the neighbourhood organization and the interests of those in other groups and institutions in order that decisions can be effectively made in the urban political system. The systemic model outlined in Chapter 1 facilitates the study of cases where plural neighbourhood interest groups present demands to the media, the general public, and the decision makers involved in the urban political system.

In a related vein, Greer and Orleans (1962) recognized that neighbourhood associations are parapolitical institutions. In their view political participation is more than just individuals voting; it is also reflected in the representation of group interests in the political arena, a role which the neighbourhood association can and does perform (Sharp 1981). Increasingly, indeed, the neighbourhood association is being recognised as an urban political interest group (Yates 1977). Related to this, it is also being recognised that neighbourhood associations are closely involved in the process of urban revitalization (Van Till 1980). This is one field in which neighbourhood groups have attempted to influence decision making, and it forms the particular context of the neighbourhood organization and protest which is the subject of this thesis.

2.4.1 Residential Revitalization

In the 1970s a resettlement of urban dwellers in inner-city neighbourhoods was widely recognized in Canada and the United States. There was reinvestment in inner-city residential areas, prompting hopes that revitalization would halt the urban decline that had been prevalent through the preceding decades. Since the late 1970s urban geographers, planners, political scientists, and sociologists have become increasingly interested in understanding the characteristics of, and reasons for, revitalization.

Revitalization involves changes in the physical and social environment of the inner-city. Two processes are generally considered to be at work in residential revitalization: incumbent upgrading and gentrification. These processes can also be related to the demands for citizen power in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as to the increased recognition of neighbourhoods as interest groups and the increased interest of governments in rehabilitation rather than slum clearance (Holcomb and Beauregard 1981 :3). The social changes accompanying these processes also have important implications for the ability of neighbourhoods to organize and articulate their needs.

Incumbent upgrading involves the improvement of property in a neighbourhood by its long time residents, most often with the aid of public assistance programs such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), that were

implemented in some Canadian cities, including Edmonton. These were national programs created by amendments to the National Housing Act in 1973, and thay were intended to help revitalize neighbourhoods and maintain a neighbourhood ambience without attracting a new "gentry" (Sicoli 1984 :10). This was to be achieved by promoting homeowner commitment to rehabilitation in combination with public expenditures for neighbourhood infrastructure.

Neighbourhoods experiencing incumbent upgrading are usually blue-collar areas, containing a substantial number of settled families. The proportion of homeowners is usually high, although there may be signs of deterioration in both the housing stock and the general physical environment. The improvements made in the neighbourhood, be they public investment in the infrastructure or private investment in home improvements, help to give the residents a stronger stake in the neighbourhood. As a result, they are more likely to organize to discourage anything that may adversely affect their upgrading efforts. Incumbent upgrading has been associated with an increasing number of neighbourhood organizations during the 1960s and 1970s (Goering 1979 and Perlman 1976), as community control over resources for local investment has emerged as an important political movement (Fainstein and Fainstein 1974). Whether incumbent upgrading is started by public expenditure or by private efforts, an effective community organization is vital to the success of the rehabilitation. In fact,

promoting community organization was a stated aim of the NIP and RRAP programs in Canada. In this way it was anticipated that residents' demands for neighbourhood reinvestment could be addressed in a cooperative manner.

By contrast, gentrification is the process by which middle and upper income people move into a dilapidated inner-city neighbourhood, renovate the housing and upgrade the area, socially as well as physically. Gentrifying neighbourhoods are typically close to the central business district and are likely to be located near water, public open space or areas of historic interest. Many of them in fact are historic districts over 100 years old. In gentrifying neighbourhoods there is often a substantial mix of professional, white-collar, and blue-collar residents. Gentrifiers are typically young, professional or white-collar workers, with a higher level of educational attainment than the incumbent residents. If they have families, they are typically small; one child is the norm (Clay 1981:21). The incumbents are often less wealthy, elderly blue-collar workers, with a lower level of educational attainment. Their children have grown up and most moved away from the area. Cybriwsky (1978) examined the socio-economic contrasts between groups of newcomers and incumbents in the Fairmount district of Philadelphia. He found that the district had changed from a working class neighbourhood with a strong European-ethnic flavour in the 1960s, to a revitalized "fashionable" area with many young

professionals in the 1970s. Cybriwsky noted that the contrasts between the two groups of residents often led to hostility, on the part of the incumbents, towards the newcomers, who were regarded as interfering outsiders. One reason for this attitude may have been, as Cybriwsky (1978 :29) points out, that the newcomers tended to try to become involved in community organization and local politics. Such involvement by new residents in revitalizing neighbourhoods has also been noted by Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) who state that new residents often work to organize the neighbourhood around such issues as historic designation or the improvement of public services. They also possess the intellectual skills and economic resources necessary to become organizers of the neighbourhood group. Thus, through the process of gentrification a neighbourhood may increase its potential to respond effectively to public policy proposals.

3. LAND USE POLICY AND PROTEST IN THE RIVER VALLEY COMMUNITIES

3.1 History of River Valley Settlement and Land use

The origins of river valley settlement in Edmonton date back to the establishment of Fort Augustus and the first Fort Edmonton early in the 19th century. Both forts were located near the site of the present day Rossdale generating station, but permanent settlement outside the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company did not occur until the 1870s when Donald Ross established a hotel and market garden business in the area that became Rossdale. Over the next 40 years, a variety of industrial and service activities were drawn to the valley, partly because of its importance in the initial development of transport facilities and partly because of its resources of water, timber and coal. Thus, John Walter initiated settlement on the south bank of the river, at Walterdale, where he operated a lumber mill, a ferry, a telegraph office, and a general store. Similarly, William Bird stimulated settlement in the Cloverdale area by building a grist mill near the mouth of Mill Creek. Other later industries included brick-making, brewing, meatpacking, and, after 1892, electricity generation.

These industrial developments, in their turn led to the establishment of a number of small working-class communities scattered along the flood plain of the North Saskatchewan River and the adjacent valley walls. They included

Riverdale and Walterdale as well as the four that are of prime importance for this thesis: Rossdale, Cloverdale, Lavigne and Centretown. In 1899 the population of these communities was estimated at 300 (Day 1974) and by 1914 it had reached 3,395. In Rossdale, the oldest of the group, 111 householders were listed in the Henderson's Directory for 1909. They were engaged in various labouring and service occupations, and included carpenters, bricklayers, teamsters, labourers, lumbermen, storekeepers, butchers and tailors, amongst others. The population continued to grow through the boom years prior to the First World War, in association with a variety of industrial activities. From the fire insurance maps of 1913, it appears that brewing, ice-making, sawmilling and flourmilling were the most substantial enterprises in Rossdale. There were also 188 residential buildings at that time, as well as a number of tents which underlined Rossdale's role as an immigrant reception area during a period of rapid development for Edmonton. By 1913, the economic boom was beginning to collapse, but the population growth continued into 1914, when the Henderson's directory recorded 211 households living in the Rossdale area.

A similar pattern of development was experienced in Lavigne, although it was always much smaller than Rossdale. In 1909, 10 householders were identified in Henderson's directory. They were millwrights, carpenters, miners and labourers, so again there was a clear working-class

character. By 1914, development had reached its peak with 34 households.

On the Gallagher Flats (Cloverdale) residential development started a little later. A brickworks and a lumberyard were the only definite signs of activity in 1911, but by 1914 it is known that there were 70 householders living south of the present 98th Avenue. Between 1920 and 1925 a few more houses were constructed between 98th Avenue and the river, but as late as 1930 there were only 88 households in the whole of Cloverdale.

In keeping with the times, the river valley communities as a whole experienced little development after 1914, when Edmonton's population reached its early peak of 72,500. It then dropped sharply to 51,000 in 1917, and built slowly again over the next 25 years. The value of building permits provides even more graphic evidence of Edmonton's fluctuating fortunes. The peak was reached in 1912 at $14.5 million, but it was followed by a quick decline to $9 million in 1913, $5 million in 1914 and a mere $230,000 in 1916.

The year 1915 was particularly dramatic for the river valley communities. In June a flood covered the flats with nine feet of water, fifty houses were swept away and 500 were flooded or submerged (Edmonton Journal, 28 June 1915). Combined with the effects of the depression this proved to be a turning point for industrial activity in the valley. Industry suffered the worst of the damage and never really

recovered from the loss. Four out of nine companies in Rossdale ceased operations. Furthermore, with the arrival of the railways, industrial activity changed its focus to the south side of the city. The residential function suffered also and the Henderson's directory for 1915 lists 122 householders living in Rossdale, a decline of 89 over the previous year. The number fell still further to 115 in 1916 with 50 vacancies in the area. In Lavigne the number of households listed fell from 34 in 1914 to 27 in 1915, when it stabilized.

In the midst of this period of rapid economic development and decline, the Edmonton city council showed considerable foresight in its concern for parks development. As early as 1907 a landscape architect from Montreal, F.G Todd, was contracted to design a set of plans for parks and boulevards in Edmonton. Todd recommended that every advantage should be taken of the natural beauty of the river valley, and that the valley and ravines should be used only for parks purposes. His proposals were accepted in principle by the city council of the day. Thus was initiated the river valley land use policy, by which valley lands were acquired as they became available and reserved for public use and enjoyment, either in their wild state or through the development of recreational facilities.[1] By 1915 (Dale 1969) the city-owned land in the valley consisted of a parcel on the Rossdale flats, west of the residential

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[1] Throughout the thesis this will be referred to as the river valley policy.

development; land developed by the City of Strathcona as a park, now known as Queen Elizabeth Park; a municipal golf course at Victoria Park; and land designated for future parks use in the Laurier, Walterdale, Riverdale, Highlands and Ramsay Ravine areas. The development of the river valley parks system continued to proceed well in the inter-war years. To a large extent this was due to two provincial statutes which allowed the City of Edmonton to take possession of land on which taxes were owed. These statutes were the Tax Recovery Act and the Arrears Of Taxes Act, both of which became operative on 17 May 1919. Then, in 1922, an amended version of the Tax Recovery Act provided that after the 14th of August in the year following the year in which a tax was imposed, in the event of a non-payment of taxes, the land would be forfeited to the municipality within whose area it was situated (Dale 1969 :160). The municipality could then dispose of the land as it wished. While in some areas of Edmonton this tax-forfeited land was sold, river valley land that came into the City's possession was reserved for parks purposes. The first case was in the Whitemud Creek valley in 1925. Dale (1969 :189) presents a map showing a very considerable amount of land in Edmonton which became parkland by this means. In fact Dale (1969 :187) goes as far as to say: "Between 1915 and 1945 the expansion of the Edmonton parks system was achieved chiefly through reservation from tax sale lands". A further step towards the implementation of the river valley policy was

taken in 1941, when the City Commissioners were given authority to negotiate for the acquisition of hillside, ravine, or valley lots that were unsuitable for building purposes. This allowed more land to be reserved for parks purposes. By the 1940s parks had been opened in Mill Creek and in the Mackinnon ravine.

The first comprehensive land use policy for Edmonton was formalized in 1933, when a zoning bylaw was adopted. This divided the city into eleven zones, one of which was a public parks zone that included the undeveloped portion of the river valley (Figure 3.1). The existing neighbourhoods, meanwhile, were zoned in various residential categories which obviously suggests that the City had no thought then of seeing them removed.

By 1945, according to Bedford (1976), the river valley neighbourhods had developed a strong sense of community. They were well served with local stores, personal services, schools, churches and sub-post offices. However the potential for conflict was growing as the City Of Edmonton inexorably accumulated land for parks purposes. The value of the river valley system as a recreational and amenity resource was also gaining greater recognition. Thus, in 1949 a report commissioned by the City of Edmonton and prepared by the planning team of Bland and Spence-Sales was presented to the city council. Among a number of important planning issues, the report dealt with the river valley. Bland and Spence-Sales pointed out that there were a number

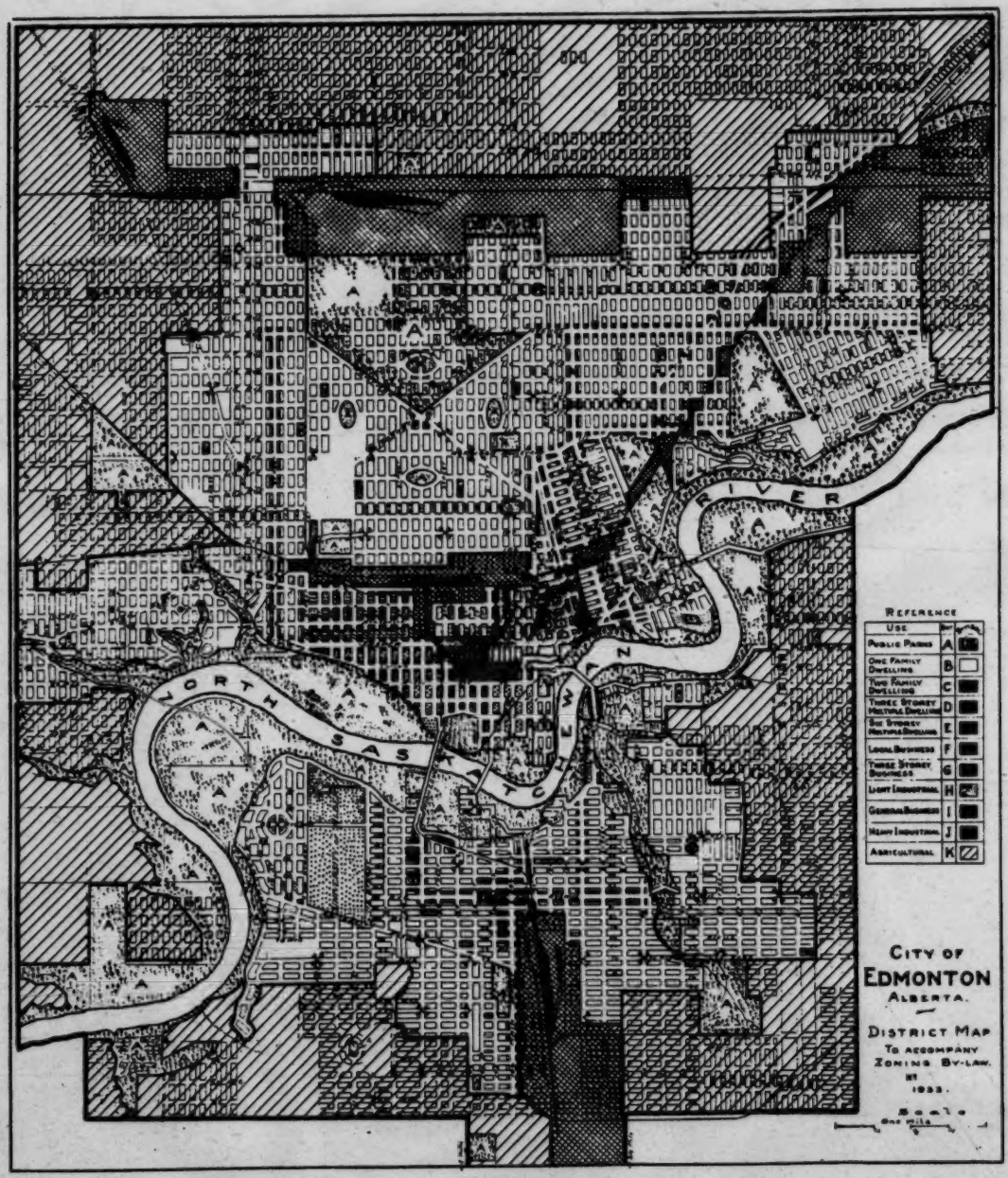

Figure 3.1 1933 ZONING BYLAW MAP

of short lengths of park drives on the banks of the river, which could be developed into a comprehensive system of parkways throughout the whole valley. They also suggested that these could be extended far into the countryside, and ultimately joined to the main highways entering the city. This led to a further suggestion that the provincial government should acquire the valley beyond the boundaries of the city, for the development of a comprehensive system of parkways, and that the government should be responsible for the maintenance of the park in the capital district (Bland, Spence-Sales 1949 :18). With respect to the residential areas the report made no particular recommendations, although Rossdale and Riverdale were recognized as being "in transition" and Cloverdale was described as a newer residential area (Bland, Spence-Sales 1949 :4,5). Then, in 1951 city council approved a plan showing Rossdale as proposed parkland and began to refuse development permits in the neighbourhood. By this action it seems to have declared, for the first time, a desire to restrict the development of an existing river valley community in favour of parkland.

In the immediate postwar period, when Edmonton was growing rapidly again, the river valley neighbourhoods reached their peak of development. The fire insurance maps for 1954 indicate that Rossdale contained 286 single family residential dwellings, 4 duplexes, 5 apartments and 3 grocery stores. At the same time in Cloverdale there were

252 single-family dwellings, in Lavigne 35, in Centretown 76, and in the part of Mill Creek of concern to this study, 59. Unfortunately, by no means all of this housing was in sound physical condition. In 1963 the City of Edmonton Urban Renewal Study identified 40% of the buildings in the central river valley areas as being in poor condition, and 81% as possessing some structural deficiencies (Figure 3.2). The study recommended the clearance of Rossdale by 1980 for parks and roadways, the clearance of parts of Cloverdale and Centretown, and the enforcement of a housing maintenance bylaw in Lavigne and the remaining parts of Cloverdale and Centretown, in order to prevent further deterioration. This may have contributed to a lack of investment in the upkeep of the areas designated for clearance, and a feeling of resignation about the decline of the neighbourhoods among the residents.

The City, represented in recent years by the Department of Real Estate and Housing, has long been buying valley properties on an occasional basis, subject to availability of money and the owners' desire to sell. In some instances this was for parks purposes. Most notably the Walterdale community had completely disappeared by the late 1960s to accommodate the Kinsmen recreational centre. In addition, new transport facilities were required by the growing city, and five major roads and three bridges were built in the valley between the 1950s and 1970s. In one case, 114 houses were removed from the vicinity of the Low Level Bridge to

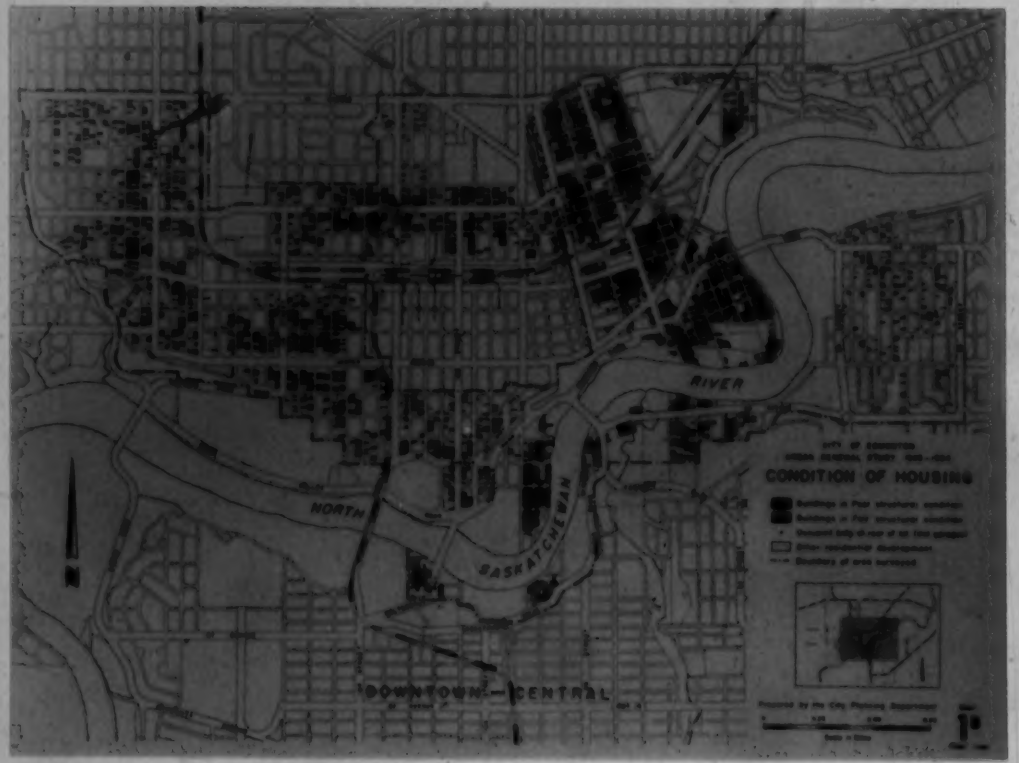

Figure 3.2 STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES OF BUILDINGS IN THE RIVER VALLEY NEIGHBOURHOODS, 1963

make way for the approaches to the James MacDonald Bridge. As well as removing residential properties, the new roadways divided the remaining neighbourhoods. In this way part of Rossdale north of 97th avenue was cut off from the core of the neighbourhood.

In 1968 city council instructed the City Planning Department to develop measures to prevent the intrusion of buildings into the valley. The planners subsequently defined the limit of the valley and ravine system using the 670.56m (2,200ft) contour line. Regulations were prescribed which were to be followed in applying for development permits or zoning certificates in areas adjacent to the limit of the valley and ravines. These recommendations were adopted by city council in July 1970. The 1971 Edmonton General Plan Bylaw and 1972 preliminary regional plan also reinforced the commitment to the development of a river valley parks system, by designating the whole of the valley for metropolitan recreational use. Included within this commitment was the long term acquisition of Rossdale, Riverdale, Cloverdale, and Lavigne. Then, in 1971 the Parks Master Plan presented the most authoritative statement about property acquisition and parks development made by the City up to that time. It was recommended that the City continue to acquire all privately owned properties in the river valley and ravine system (1971 Parks Master Plan :10), and that a conceptual plan of the river valley be adopted as the basis for future park planning. This plan clearly

designated all of Rossdale, Riverdale, Cloverdale, Lavigne, and Centretown for parks and recreational purposes (Figure 3.3). Furthermore, the plan stated that no construction should be allowed within a minimum 25ft setback from the top of the valley or ravine slopes.

Despite this threat to the valley neighbourhoods, there was no immediate outcry against the City's proposals. Yet the potential for conflict was evident. It was increased further in 1974 when the Capital City Park Plan was introduced, under the sponsorship of the Government of the of Alberta. The result was a park that stretched from the downtown valley area some 10 miles downstream. The park contains picnic areas, hiking and bicycle trails, and a variety of other recreational facilities.

3.2 The Emergence of Conflict

One of the first confrontations between river valley residents and the City of Edmonton occurred in 1974 when forty residents of Rossdale, Cloverdale, and Lavigne, supported by the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues and a group called University Practicum, presented a brief to city council. This brief advanced a number of alternatives to the acquisition of river valley residences (Bedford 1976). Another early confrontation occurred in 1975 when it was proposed to extend the boundaries of Mill Creek Park. Throughout the area, including the portion surveyed in this thesis, it was proposed that some 450 homes

Figure 3 .3 PORTION OF PARKS MASTER PLAN SHOWING PROPOSED FUTURE LAND USE FOR ROSSDALE , CLOVERDALE, LAVIGNE, AND CENTRETOWN

be taken by the City over a five-year period. When the civic administration called a meeting to solicit public reaction, they were faced with 700 angry opponents, according to the Edmonton Journal (13 May 1975). A coalition of 44 groups and societies joined together to form the Mill Creek Build A Park Association, which presented a 10-point counterproposal to the city council.

The anger of the valley residents was heightened by the evidence of a number of inconsistencies in the river valley policy. First, most of Riverdale was allowed to escape the threat of public acquisition in 1974 when a redevelopment plan was adopted for the community. This was due to an active defence undertaken by the Riverdale Community League, supported by the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues. The exemption of Riverdale from the acquisition policy was regarded by many community organizers, both there and in other central valley neighbourhoods, as a concession to the residential function in the river valley in the hope of drawing attention away from the desire to acquire the sites of the remaining neighbourhoods.[3]

The second source of contention dated back to 1921, when the City leased valley land to the Mayfair Park Golf Club, followed by the Highlands Golf Club later in the 1920's, and the Royal Glenora club in 1958. Since these facilities have restricted memberships, from which all but a

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[3] This opinion was expressed to me in personal communications with a number of the river valley community organizers.

few residents are excluded, large blocks of City-owned land had been alienated for indefinite periods. The critics charged that if the City wanted more land for public parks, it should take it from the private clubs rather than from the residents of the valley communities.

3.3 The Beginning of Gentrification

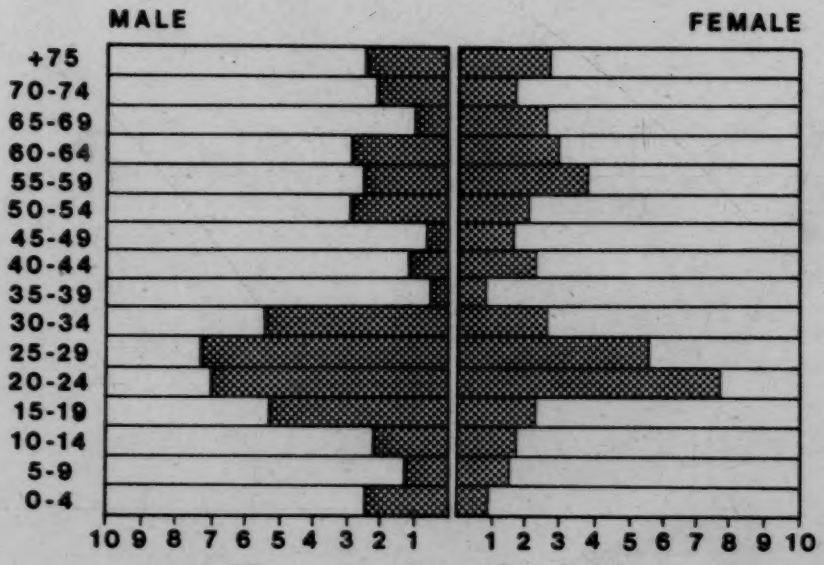
The increase in resident opposition to the river valley policy began in the 1970's, a period of population increase and change in the city in general. In the river valley communities change was also occurring. Data produced by the City Planning Department's district planning program, based on the 1981 national census and the civic censuses of 1979 and 1983, can be used as justification for the idea that the river valley communities have been experiencing social and economic changes which may be related to the beginning of a process of gentrification.

During the economic boom of the 1970's, the valley neighbourhoods began to experience an in-migration of new residents. Age-sex distributions for 1979, taken from a 1980 planning report (Figures 3.4 to 3.6), tend to suggest that they then contained two distinctive populations: first, a group of young residents between 20 and 35 years old and, second, a group of older people more than 55 years old. These data point to a mix of recently arrived residents and older incumbents, perhaps with some adult children still living at home. The same pattern is demonstrated in data

Figure 3.4

CLOVERDALE

AGE SEX DISTRIBUTION 1979



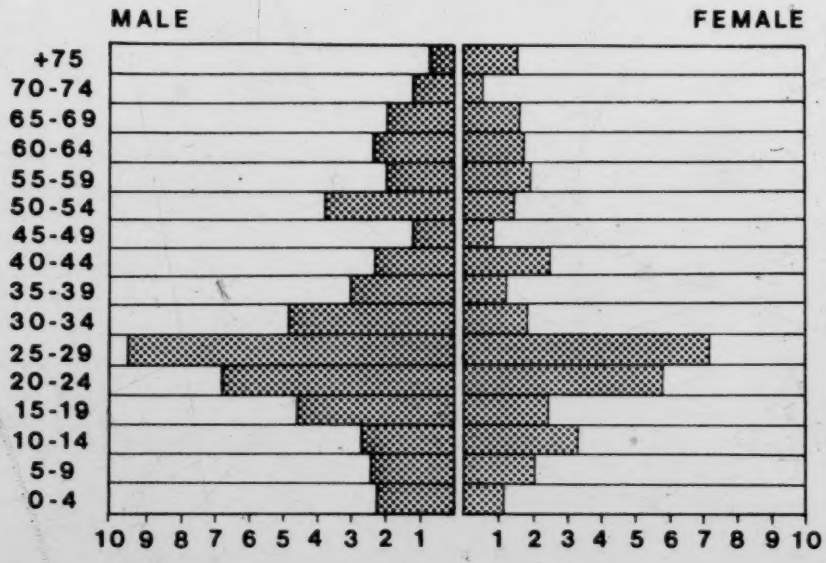
TOTAL POPULATION 484

Source : City of Edmonton ,
River Valley Planning Report 1980

Figure 3.5

ROSSDALE

AGE SEX DISTRIBUTION 1979



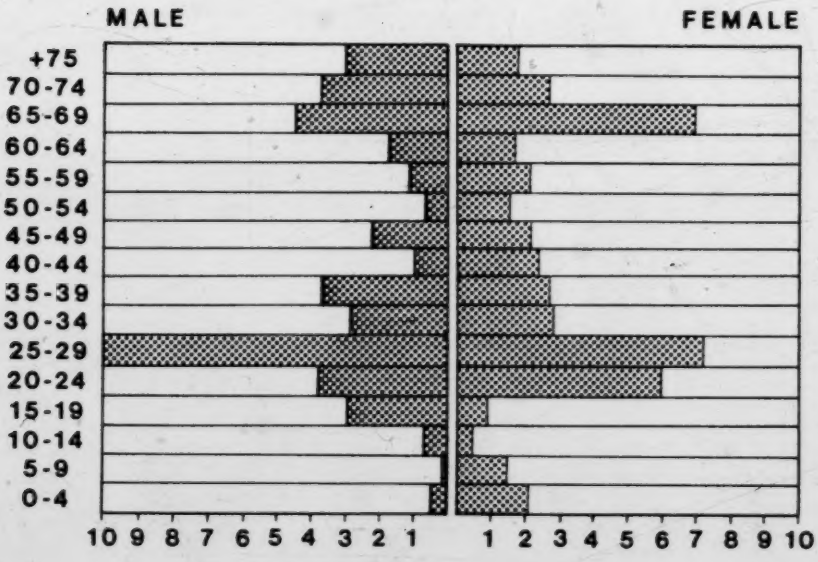
TOTAL POPULATION 552

Source : City of Edmonton ,
River Valley Planning Report 1980

Figure 3.6

LAVIGNE/CENTRE TOWN

AGE SEX DISTRIBUTION 1979



TOTAL POPULATION 153

Source : City of Edmonton ,
River Valley Planning Report 1980

for 1981 (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Other data taken from the 1981 census of Canada indicate that, at that time, 44.8% of the population of Rossdale had lived in the neighbourhood for two years or less, and in Cloverdale, 32.6% of the population had been resident there for two years or less. Data for Lavigne and Centretown are not available separately. Income data are more difficult to interpret since they are limited to averages for enumeration areas which do not correspond exactly to the neighbourhoods. For the Rossdale area in 1981 the average income was $21,000, for Cloverdale $18,500, for the enumeration area of which Centretown and Mill Creek are part, $41,000, and for the Strathcona district, in which Lavigne is located, $57,000. With the possible exception of Cloverdale, where the incumbent population is still comparatively large, these data may point to some invasion of traditionally working-class areas by young, upwardly mobile, middle class residents. Approximately 90% of the residents in the valley communities live in single family or two-unit dwellings, although the pattern of tenure varies by neighbourhood; for example, the proportion of owner occupiers varies from 28% in Rossdale to 41% in Cloverdale.

These socio-economic characteristics lend weight to the idea that the river valley neighbourhods are moving away from their traditional character of ageing, blue-collar neighbourhoods. They resemble the description presented in Chapter 2 of communities which tend to experience

TABLE 3.1

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ROSSDALE 1981
NEIGHBOURHOOD: ROSSDALE
CENSUS TRACT (ENUMERATION AREA): 33 (6,30%); 34 (10)

Population	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	11	5	16
5 - 9	4	1	5
10 - 14	5	6	11
15 - 19	7	10	17
20 - 24	31	18	49
25 - 29	35	27	62
30 - 34	23	23	46
35 - 39	18	8	26
40 - 44	11	7	18
45 - 49	4	7	11
50 - 54	8	3	11
55 - 59	13	6	19
60 - 64	4	10	14
65 - 69	10	4	14
70 - 74	7	6	13
75 - 79	6	1	7
80 - 84	0	1	1
85 - 89	0	0	0
90 - 94	0	0	0
95 - 99	0	0	0
100 +	0	0	0
Total	197	144	341

SOURCE: City of Edmonton District Planning Program Information Reports, 1981.

TABLE 3.2

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION CLOVERDALE 1981
NEIGHBOURHOOD: CLOVERDALE
CENSUS TRACT (ENUMERATION AREA): 35 (1)

Population	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	9	7	16
5 - 9	10	8	18
10 - 14	8	5	13
15 - 19	13	11	24
20 - 24	24	21	45
25 - 29	37	25	62
30 - 34	30	15	45
35 - 39	17	9	26
40 - 44	5	2	7
45 - 49	8	7	15
50 - 54	10	15	25
55 - 59	18	8	26
60 - 64	12	21	33
65 - 69	10	10	20
70 - 74	5	9	14
75 - 79	10	7	17
80 - 84	2	7	9
85 - 89	2	1	3
90 - 94	1	0	1
95 - 99	0	0	0
100 +	0	0	0
Total	231	188	419

SOURCE: City of Edmonton District Planning Program Information Reports, 1981.

gentrification. They are small, close to the central business district, situated in an attractive setting and are regarded by some as historically valuable. The housing stock consists predominantly of single family dwellings, and as found in most gentrifying neighbourhoods has experienced years of decline characterized by minimal investment and upkeep. This profile would suggest that the river valley neighbourhoods may be experiencing the beginning of a process of revitalization which has the potential, eventually, to take the form of gentrification.

3.4 The River Valley Dispute 1981 to 1983

The immediate history of the 1981 dispute began in 1975, when the city council reaffirmed its desire to develop a city centre parks system in the valley. The City Planning Department was then instructed to begin preparing an area redevelopment plan for the river valley, following the procedures prescribed by the Alberta Planning Act, 1977. As is the case with all area redevelopment plans, this was to be a statutory plan (i.e adopted as a bylaw), which would conform to the higher order plans for the area, the metropolitan regional plan and the general municipal plan, in both of which the valley was designated as a parks and environmental protection district. An area redevelopment plan permits a city council to preserve or improve land and buildings, to rehabilitate, remove, or replace buildings, and to establish or improve roads and public utilities, in a

designated area. The use of privately-owned land can also be strictly regulated.

In March 1980, a draft of the North Saskatchewan River Valley area redevelopment plan bylaw was presented to Edmonton City Council for the first time. The Planning Department also informed all affected parties of the proposed bylaw and of the times, locations and procedures of public hearings, as required by section 139 of the Alberta Planning Act, 1977.

The plan had four general goals; first, to preserve land and selected buildings in the redevelopment area by designating it as an environmental protection area; second, to acquire land and certain buildings within the designated area for parks and recreation, environmental protection, and heritage conservation purposes; third, to minimize the impact of redevelopment on the existing residential communities; and fourth, to maximize the amenity potential of the area for the use of residents nearby and for the population of Edmonton at large (North Saskatchewan River Valley, Area Redevelopment Plan, 1981). In summary, the main objectives of the plan were:

1. To preserve and enhance the natural environment of the river valley.
2. To define a top-of-the-bank line for the river valley and ravine system, and to prohibit development from encroaching on the valley past this line.
3. To promote the conservation of historic sites.

4. To provide land in the area for public facilities.
5. To stage a land acquisition program in order that residential communities could undergo a gradual transition from private to public ownership with a minimal social impact.

In regard to residential land uses, the plan provided that they would be allowed to continue for a 15 year period after the passage of the bylaw in parts of Rossdale, Cloverdale, Lavigne and Centretown to be designated as "community protection areas" (Figure 3.7). However, it was also stated that if a resident applied for a development permit for major renovations or redevelopment, the city council could consider expropriating the property in the "general public interest" (North Saskatchewan River Valley A.R.P :33). In the intervening period the City hoped to be able to purchase all the outstanding residential properties for future parks uses (Figures 3.8 and 3.9).

In response, numerous angry letters were written by valley residents, and the opponents of the plan prepared to state their case at public hearings that were scheduled for May 1981. On 20 April 1981, a number of people from the river valley neighbourhoods met together for the purpose of developing an organization to protest against the property acquisition proposals contained in the draft plan. This organization, which came to be named the Society for the Preservation of the River Valley (or the S.P.R.V. for convenience), adopted a list of environmental objectives

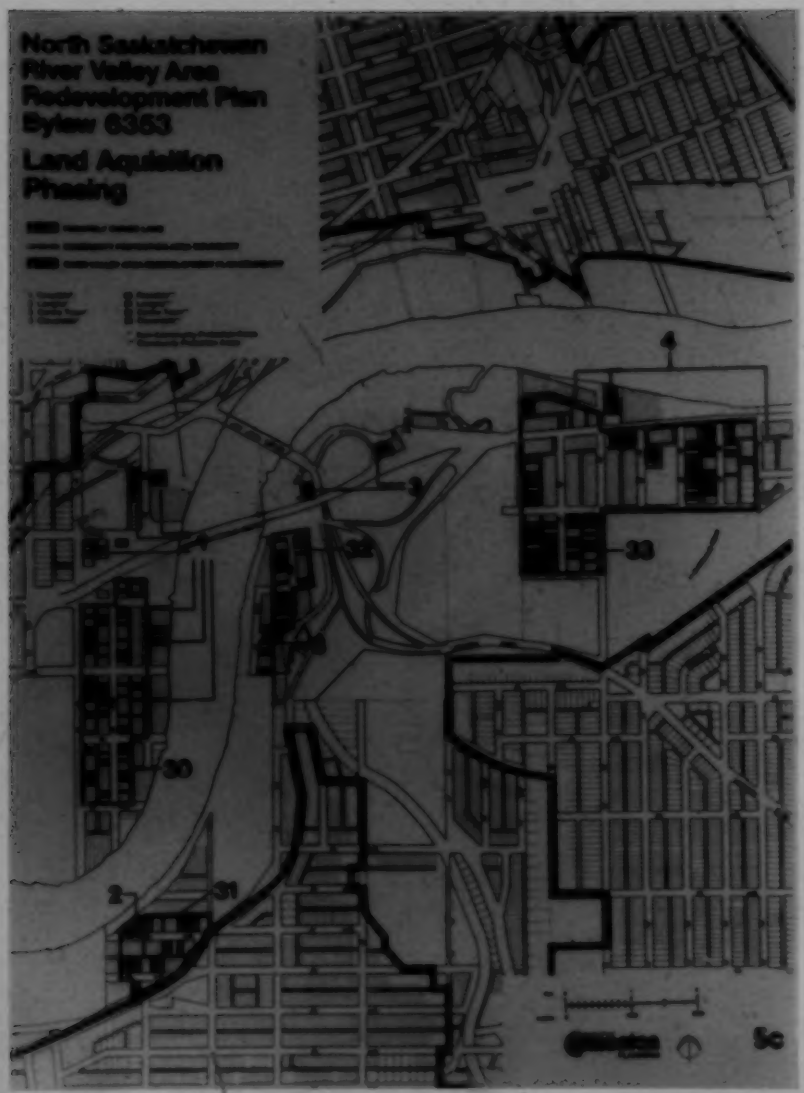


Figure 3.7
COMMUNITY PROTECTION AREAS DESIGNATED BY THE NORTH SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY AREA REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 1981

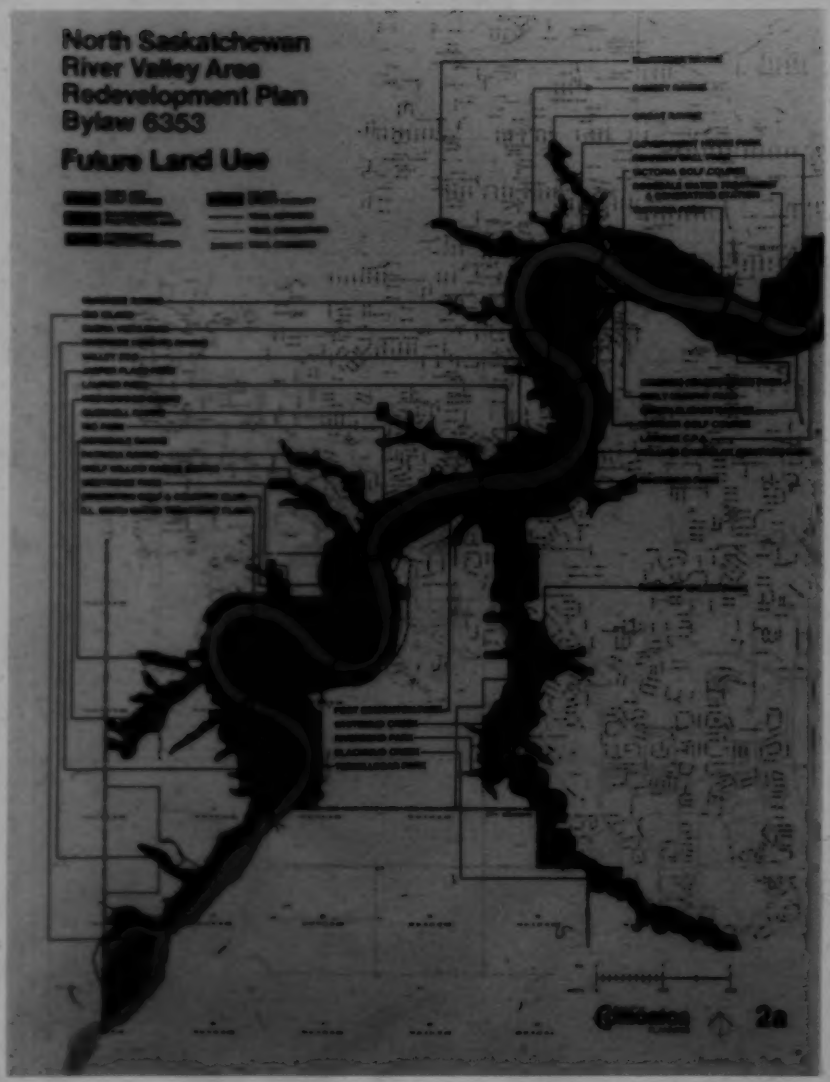


Figure 3.8
NORTH SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY AREA
REDEVELOPMENT PLAN FUTURE LAND USE MAP,
CENTRAL AND SOUTH-WESTERN PORTION

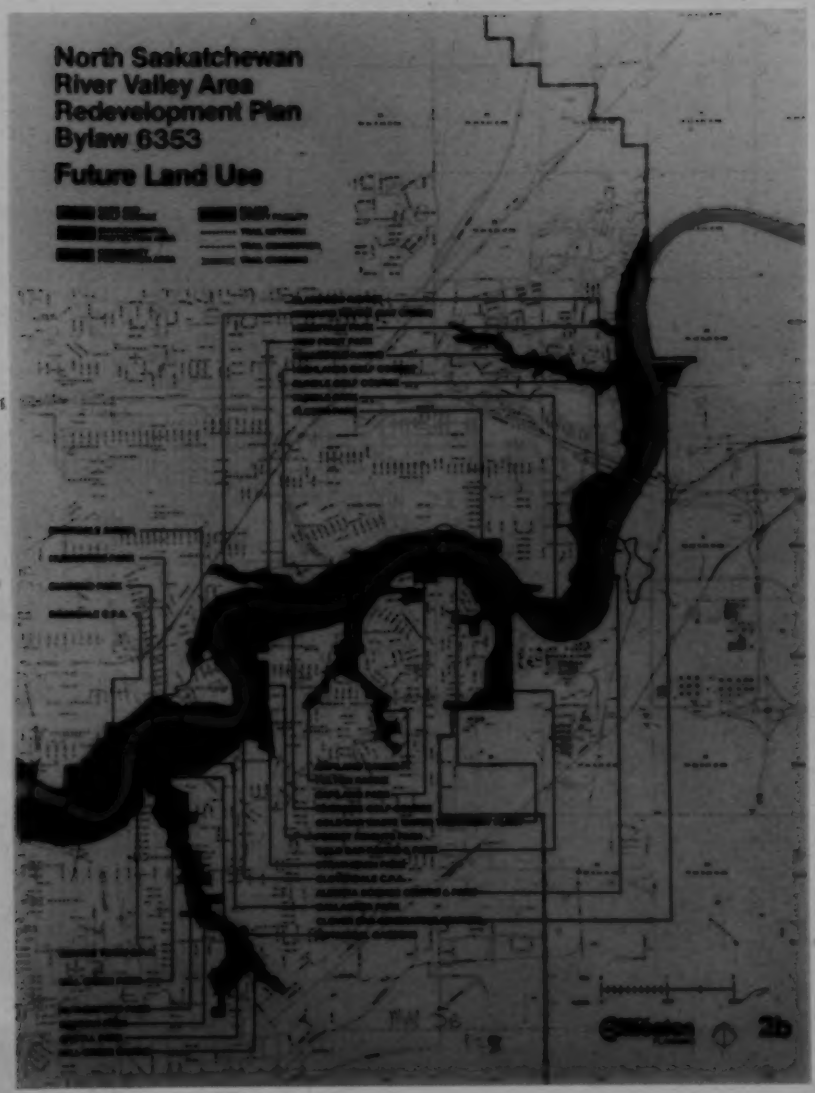


Figure 3.9

NORTH SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY AREA REDEVELOPMENT PLAN FUTURE LAND USE MAP, CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN PORTION

referred to as "the six principles of river valley planning". These are as follows:

1. Preservation of the natural aspects of the river valley.
2. Community consultation in all stages of the river valley planning process.
3. Convince the city council to preserve all existing communities in the river valley and ravines.
4. Prevent the City from using expropriation or otherwise interfering with the property of valley residents.
5. Convince city council to spend the money to be allocated for the river valley properties elsewhere in the city, where it was needed more.
6. Have the City adopt the principle that parks and residences are compatible and can co-exist.

The political objective behind these principles was to influence the city council to change the river valley policy. The society acted as the protest coordinator for the river valley neighbourhoods, becoming the voice of the valley residents' demands. When public hearings were held on May 7th, 13th, and 19th, 1981, the valley protestors were well prepared. Over 100 people spoke in opposition to the proposed bylaw, and 17 submissions were made by members of the S.P.R.V., two directly on behalf of the society and the other 15 by S.P.R.V. members on behalf of their own communities. These submissions embodied the desires outlined in the six principles. At the end of three days of hearings, city council resolved to form an aldermanic

committee to study the plan and report back to city council. Eventually, the draft bylaw was returned to the City Planning Department for revisions, to take account of the extensive criticisms from the residents and some members of council. The main concerns raised by the residents at the public hearings were as follows:

1. The threat of expropriation.
2. Deterioration of the communities because existing land use policy did not permit houses to be renovated without the threat of expropriation.
3. The removal of part of Edmonton's low cost housing stock at a time when housing prices were high.
4. The belief that residences in the river valley help to reduce crime in the adjoining parkland.
5. The devaluation of property because private buyers would not be interested in houses that were under the threat of compulsory acquisition.

In the face of these concerns, city council instructed the City Planning Department that the next plan should present a range of alternative courses of action, including the possibility of preserving the river valley communities. In late August 1982 the planners submitted a policy white paper on the future of the river valley to the city council and the public. In summary, three main alternatives were set out as possible bases for an area redevelopment plan:

1. To purchase or otherwise acquire all remaining privately-owned lands throughout the proposed

redevelopment plan area.

2. To purchase key privately-owned lands that were needed for the development of a metropolitan recreational area.
3. Little or no purchase of the remaining privately-owned lands, which would be a reversal of the longstanding river valley policy.

The planners recommended that the city council adopt a policy that would provide for the acquisition of key land parcels, in accordance with the second alternative. However, the white paper was heavily criticised by the valley residents in its turn, because it recommended that significant portions of Rossdale, Riverdale (despite its exclusion from the acquisition plans in 1974), Cloverdale and Centretown, and all of Lavigne, be acquired (River Valley Policy White Paper, 1982 :s4).

At the same time, the planning department presented a proposal for a public consultation program. This was designed to counter widespread criticism of the lack of opportunity for citizen participation during the preparation of the original draft bylaw. The program was to comprise three public meetings and two public information houses to be held in late October and early November 1982, as well as an "infopak" on the white paper. More than 1,000 of these infopaks were eventually distributed to affected parties and interested individuals and groups. They contained a summary of the white paper, a schedule of times and locations of public meetings, and the deadline for submission of written

responses. The consultation process was also advertised in the local newspapers and copies of the white paper were available, without charge, at the planning department publications office. The emphasis was being placed on informing residents which, as stated in Chapter 2, can be regarded as a token form of participation.

At the subsequent public meetings that were organized and conducted by the planners in order to present their proposals, members of the S.P.R.V. made 10 submissions. The presentations made by the protestors confronted the planners with questions, criticisms and counterarguments to their preferred policy option, and served to elevate the public meetings beyond a token level of participation in which the residents would have been merely informed and educated. In addition, 122 written submissions were mailed to the City Planning Department. In the months following the public meetings, the valley protestors and city council debated the issue, both in the council chamber and through the press. Although some aldermen supported the retention of the valley communities, half supported the proposed acquisition of property. Some came to regard the protestors with hostility, one reportedly characterizing them as "collective bunch of losers" (Edmonton Journal, 2 May 1981). Less outspoken aldermen argued that the historic policy, including the proposed area redevelopment plan, of acquiring land in the river valley for parks purposes, was in the public interest and that city council should not bow to the

demands of a particular interest group. In 1983 council decided to table the white paper for two years, until they could review the results of a provincial government flood plain study. This decision was heavily criticized by the S.P.R.V. and some aldermen, who wanted a decision to be taken, especially since the City was still at liberty to acquire and demolish houses in the interim, subject to the availability of public funds. Opponents of the City's actions stated that by continuing to buy individual lots and demolishing the houses standing on them, the City was unfairly creating an atmosphere of decline in the neighbourhoods which amounted to blockbusting. Consequently, the protest against the parkland policy continued, since its implementation had merely been suspended, not ended or changed.

In January 1983, the Rossdale community league began to prepare its own plan for that community, emphasizing the theme of historical preservation. The plan was made possible by a grant from the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, with assistance from the Department of Recreation Administration at the University Of Alberta. The "Rossdale Living Heritage Park Plan" was presented to city council in May 1983. Its central theme was that the park should be a living community or ecomuseum, complete with preserved and reconstructed historic sites. It was therefore vital that the neighbourhood be given designation as a historic area by the provincial government. The plan

served to illustrate that there were alternatives to the removal of the valley neighbourhoods, and that the residents were capable of participating in the development of plans for their own communities, as yet however no action has been taken by either the City or the provincial government.

As early as July 1982, the S.P.R.V. began to look towards the civic election of October 1983 as its major hope for change. The group realized that support from the majority of aldermen on city council was the only sure way to achieve a change in the river valley policy. Consequently, in the period immediately preceding the election, the protestors encouraged candidates to comment on the dispute. They concentrated their support on new candidates who gave an undertaking to vote for the retention of the valley communities if elected, and some members of S.P.R.V. actively canvassed on behalf of those who made such a commitment. Some candidates, such as Lawrence Decore and Lance White, used the dispute as one of an array of criticisms against the incumbent mayor and city council, all of which were well publicized in the media. In the upshot, Decore was elected as mayor and the balance of voting on the city council changed in favour of protecting the river valley communities. In December 1984 the new city council instructed the planning department to begin to prepare a new bylaw that would allow all the valley neighbourhoods to be retained. With this decision the river valley dispute completed its passage through the urban political system and

the actors in the system had to adjust to a new situation. The planners and community organizers then shifted their focus towards the question of the kind of revitalization that will be most appropriate for the neighbourhoods in the future. Local development plans for each district are now being prepared by various district planning program teams in the City Planning Department, in close cooperation with local community groups.

4. THE RIVER VALLEY DISPUTE IN THE SYSTEMIC FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

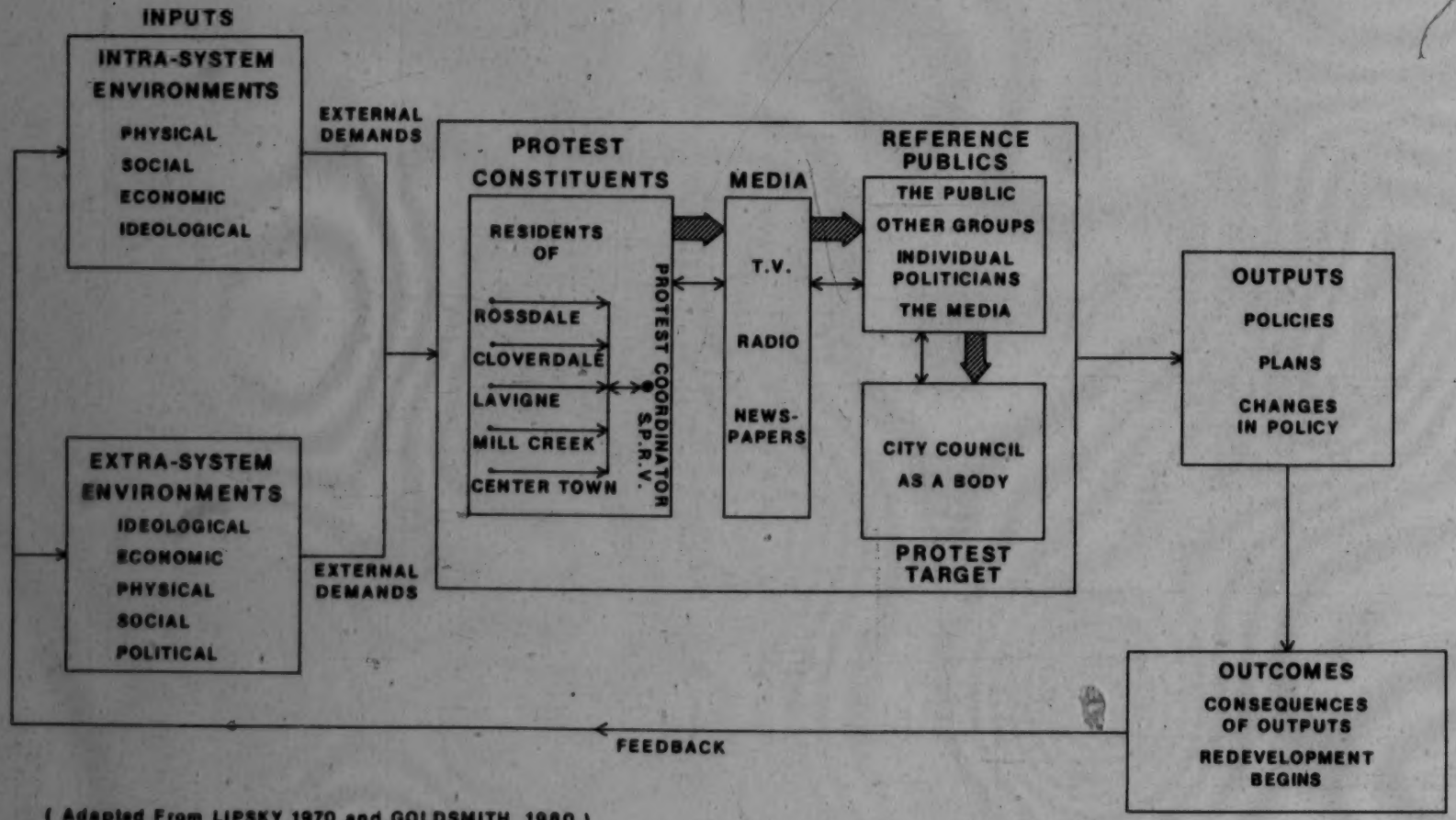
The framework for the thesis is developed out of Goldsmith's model of the urban political system, combined with Lipsky's model of the process of protest in city politics. In Figure 4.1 various aspects of the river valley dispute are incorporated into this framework, to adapt it for the research problem. Edmonton's river valley dispute is described in terms of "environments" that created demands and supports, which were then passed along to the urban political system where the dispute was eventually resolved.

4.2 Inputs

4.2.1 The Extra-System Environments

The economic climate of Alberta and Canada as a whole in the 1970's led to an influx of people into Edmonton. In its turn that affected the local situation in Edmonton (the intra-system environments), but the most immediately pertinent outcome was an increase in the perceived demand for open space and recreational facilities and an increased demand for housing. At the same time the residents of the river valley neighbourhoods, and many other Edmonton residents as well, were becoming aware of the ideologies of heritage conservation, neighbourhood revitalization and citizen participation in decision making, all of which were

Figure 4.1 THE SYSTEMIC APPROACH TO THE URBAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT, APPLIED TO THE RIVER VALLEY DISPUTE



(Adapted From LIPSKY 1970 and GOLDSMITH 1980)

then current in national and international planning thought. This was the wider ideological environment within which the river valley dispute took shape.

4.3 The Intra-System Environments

4.3.1 Physical Environment

The physical environment of the valley of the North Saskatchewan river has been an important factor in generating demands and supports for political action. On the one hand, planners and some city aldermen have tried to argue in favour of removing residential property on the basis of environmental constraints such as bank instability, flood risk in some neighbourhoods and the negative effects of residential development on the natural environment of the valley. The supporters of the valley communities, in contrast, have argued that the question of flooding has ceased to be relevant since the construction of two dams on the North Saskatchewan River, upstream from Edmonton.[3] The critics further state that the flood risk argument is contradicted in the case of Riverdale, which was excluded from the area designated for acquisition although much of it is in the so-called flood risk area defined by the 1915 flood line.

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[3] This argument is ill-founded, because the dams have no flood storage capability and control a small portion of the river's headwaters, but we are dealing with perceptions here not reality.

The location of the valley is also significant because the proximity of the downtown core makes it an attractive site for recreational facilities and roads in the eyes of some planners and aldermen. However, many neighbourhood residents believe that a downtown location is really less accessible for the majority of Edmonton's population and that there is a greater need for parks and recreational facilities to be added in suburban neighbourhoods.

4.3.2 Social Environment

The key factor in the social environment of the urban political system, bearing on the river valley dispute, is the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhood populations. These help to explain the ability of the residents to articulate their demands to the decision makers. Socio-economic characteristics are defined here as age, income, educational attainment, occupation, length of residency in the neighbourhood, number of children living at home and place of birth.

Traditionally, the river valley neighbourhoods were characterized by lower income families and lower status occupations such as labourers, tradesmen and clerks (Bedford 1976). Recently, there has been some movement into the neighbourhoods by younger people with higher incomes, professional or white-collar occupations, a higher level of educational attainment and sometimes young children. They are mixed with the incumbent population, most of whom are

now elderly. As stated in chapter 2, such newcomers are regarded as important to the process of neighbourhood revitalization, often working to organize a neighbourhood around such issues as the improvement of public services or historic designation (Holcomb and Beauregard 1981). They also have a tendency to become involved in activist or avant garde groups (Nachmias and Palen 1982).

4.3.3 Economic Environment

The local economic environment in the city of Edmonton in the 1980's acted as a major constraint upon the ability of the City, as a corporate body, to purchase properties in the river valley. The City never had enough money for wholesale acquisition, so they bought houses one by one. Thus, purchase depended on availability of funds as much as on the availability of houses.

The state of the real estate market in Edmonton is another important part of the economic environment. The river valley neighbourhoods provided relatively inexpensive housing in an attractive location, at a time when property values were high and rising in the city. Consequently newcomers, often from outside Edmonton, were drawn into these areas. This seems to have been a major factor in encouraging younger, middle-income, white-collar workers to move into the river valley neighbourhoods. There they have comparatively cheap homes in an attractive setting close to jobs, stores and other services.

The 1980's have been a time of contrast. In a depressed economy some aldermen and growing sections of the public seem to have come to regard the cost of the property acquisition in the river valley as prohibitive. A policy that was always characterized as being in the public interest became increasingly regarded as bad for that public interest.

4.3.4 Ideological Environment

In the context of the river valley dispute the ideology of the council and planners almost certainly had some influence in the formulation and direction of policy. Previous mayors and councils seem to have been strongly committed to the development of a central city park system. They also believed, as did most of the planners, that parks and residences do not mix. Rather, they held an image of the city centre park as a place of handsome landscaping and impressive public facilities, symbolizing the energy and achievements of a progressive city. The buoyant economic climate of the 1970's may have encouraged such an ideological commitment since money was more readily available. The construction of the Kinsmen recreation centre, the Muttart conservatory, the convention centre and Capital City Park all fit this vision, as do the proposals for a space sciences centre for Rossdale and an aquarium for Cloverdale.

On the other hand, Mayor Decore and a majority of the councillors elected with him in 1983 believe that the residences and parkland can exist together. Lightbody (1984) states that Mayor Decore's personal ideology embraces the importance of local community groups in civic politics, which may account for his support for the retention of the river valley communities. Almost all the residents agree that the river valley should be used primarily for parks and recreation purposes, but they also believe that the valley is enhanced by the presence of people. They regard the old houses and small neighbourhoods as adding to the heritage and character of the central city.

4.4 The Urban Political System and the Process of Protest.

There are five components in the urban political system, all of which are pertinent to this case study of protest over land use planning proposals.

4.4.1 The Protest Constituents

The protest constituents are the river valley neighbourhoods, or more specifically those residents who opposed the City of Edmonton's property acquisition program. It was from these residents that the demands upon the urban political system chiefly came. A wide variety of people mobilized with the common purpose of protecting their properties and neighbourhoods, including those living in high-status homes on the tops of the valley banks and those

from the neighbourhoods on the river valley flats.

4.4.2 The Protest Coordinator

The Society for the Preservation of the River Valley was developed as a formal organization to coordinate the protest activities and to articulate the valley residents' demands to the decision makers and the communications media.

4.4.3 The Communications Media

The media can grant publicity and thereby help create an issue, or they can ignore protest activities and contribute to the failure of a protest group to make any impact on the decision makers. Long (1962) believes that the media can set the public agenda. Certainly, the river valley protest organizers courted the media at every opportunity. They wrote numerous letters to the Edmonton Journal, protesting the City's plans for acquisition and emphasizing the human cost of the policy as well as the economic cost. The media were quick to respond to these efforts. The river valley dispute became especially newsworthy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The offical Journal policy was to support the city council, but individual journalists had enough freedom to express opinions for as well as against the neighbourhoods. Local television and radio were also active in reporting the views of aldermen and residents, which further contributed to making a major public issue of the river valley conflict.

4.4.4 Reference Publics of the Protest Target

For protest to be effective, it is necessary for the protest group to create support and sympathy for its cause among third parties, known as the reference publics of the protest target. Support among such third parties can put further pressure on the decision makers. In the context of the river valley dispute the reference publics are the general public of Edmonton, individual aldermen, other interest groups in the city and, again, the communications media. The media act as both a reference public and a means by which the demands of the protest group are directed to the other reference publics, as well as to the decision makers. Support among such third parties as the general public or other interest groups may prove vital to the success of the protest by creating a climate of public opinion sympathetic to the demands of the protestors, and thereby helping to influence the decision makers to satisfy the demands.

4.4.5 The Protest Target

The Edmonton city council, as a decision making body, is the protest target. City councils as far back as 1907 were responsible for the development of the parkland policy for the river valley, but they cannot be designated as part of the protest target since there was no real protest until the 1970's. It is specifically the council of 1980 to 1983, headed by Mayor Purves, that is designated as the protest

target. It was this council that requested the draft river valley plan of 1981 and the white paper revision of 1982. These contained the proposals that were so objectionable to the river valley residents and led to the development of the protest movement. As well, even in Mayor Purves's council there were some aldermen who were sympathetic to the preservation of the river valley neighbourhoods and formed another source of demands from within the urban political system.

4.5 Outputs

Outputs are the decisions made by the city council as a body. In this case the output is the adoption of a river valley policy and subsequent changes made in that policy.

4.5.1 Outcomes

These are defined as the intended or unintended consequences of outputs. As yet the consequences of a change in the river valley policy have not become evident. They will only appear over time.

4.5.2 Feedback

The outcomes will become evident as a process of feedback leads to adjustments in the intra-system environments. As the interest groups involved adjust to the new situation there is potential for both resolution of conflict and creation of new conflicts among interest

groups.

1.5.3 Research Questions

Following from the adaptation of the systems framework to the particular circumstances of the protest over river valley planning policy in Edmonton, three research questions are posed to help to fulfil the objectives of the thesis.

Since it is conceded, in both the community power literature and the gentrification literature that certain kinds of people are more likely than others to try to exercise influence by participating in political activity, whether by voting or by involvement in a community organization such as the S.P.R.V., the analysis begins with an attempt to determine to determine whether some of the survey respondents were more active than others in the river valley protest. The research question, which is addressed in Chapter 5, is framed as follows: *Is there any evidence of a difference in the degree of active involvement among the river valley residents in their efforts to change the river valley policy?*

The gentrification literature further suggests that in revitalizing neighbourhoods it is often the new residents who become most actively involved in local community organizations. Bearing this in mind chapter the second research question is addressed in Chapter 6: *To what extent can the development of an organized protest against the proposed river valley bylaw be attributed to differences in*

socio-economic characteristics between the long term incumbent residents and the newcomers in the valley neighbourhoods?

As one of an array of interest groups, ranging from the city council and planning department to the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation and the general public, all of whom were trying to influence the development of the river valley policy, the valley residents took up the slack in the political system by organizing a protest against a threatening plan. In so doing, they adopted a number of tactics to try to maximize their chances of success. In essence this also constituted an attempt to participate in the urban political system on one of the higher rungs of Arnstein's ladder of participation. Following from this, in Chapter 7 the tactics used by the protestors are described and analysed in order to answer the third research question: *What tactics were adopted by the protest constituents and protest coordinator to fulfil their political goal of changing river valley policy?*

5. ANALYSIS OF RESIDENT INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANIZED PROTEST

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine how a relatively small group of people were influential in changing a public policy proposal, by means of a process of protest. In this chapter the extent to which the valley residents became actively involved in that protest is examined in order to answer research question 1: *Is there any evidence of differences in the degree of active involvement in the organized efforts to change the river valley policy among the river valley residents?*

5.2 Responses to Questions 1 to 14: respondent involvement in, and knowledge of the river valley protest

Questions 1 to 14 on the survey were designed to collect information on the river valley residents' knowledge of the river valley dispute and their involvement in the protest against the proposed river valley bylaw of 1980. The intent was to try to determine how actively involved they were in organized protest. Emphasis was placed on membership in community organizations, attendance at meetings, and knowledge of the dispute and of community group activity as an indicator of the level of awareness exhibited by the respondents about the conflict. However, the questionnaire could have been improved by asking respondents about their direct involvement in the S.P.R.V.

In the following sections the reasons for asking each question and a summary of the responses are presented.

5.2.1 Question 1: membership in community organizations

Respondents were asked if they were members of any community organizations on a list affiliated to the S.P.R.V., or of any other group, or of the S.P.R.V. itself. Since membership can be regarded as an indicator of involvement in a community organization and its activities (Nachmias and Palen 1982), the level of membership in the community groups listed, and especially the S.P.R.V., can help in understanding the residents' degree of involvement in the river valley dispute.

Of the 189 respondents who replied to the question, 51% indicated that they were members of at least one community organization, while 49% indicated they were not members of any community group or organization. The proportion of membership is high, but may reflect participation in local community leagues, which are traditionally strong in Edmonton. Turning to the S.P.R.V. 14% of the 189 respondents indicated that they were members of this organization (the protest coordinator). This figure is average at best, especially considering that a membership level of 18% to 20% in activist groups is regarded a good by Fellman (1969) and Nachmias and Palen (1982), among others. Compared to the 51% who are members of the listed community groups in total, the level of membership in the S.P.R.V. is

low. Following from this and from the information presented in chapter 3 it can be suggested that the 14% who are members of the S.P.R.V. are representative of the small group of community league members and others who became more regularly active in organizing and carrying out the valley neighbourhoods' protest against the river valley bylaw. That group has been characterized as a coalition of representatives from the organizing committees of the various communities involved. Also, most of the respondents are more likely to have been involved in the listed community organizations for purposes other than protest.

Membership in community organizations was crosstabulated by place of residence to determine which, if any, communities may have been more active centres of protest activity. The relationship proved to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level (Table 5.1). For the purpose of analysis by crosstabulation the communities had to be collapsed in number. Emphasis was placed on Rossdale, Cloverdale, Lavigne, Centretown and Mill Creek as the focus of the river valley dispute. Brander Gardens and Windsor Park were excluded due to an insufficient number of responses for statistical analysis. In every community with the possible exception of Centretown, well above 20% of the respondents indicated membership in a community organization. Mill Creek, at 75%, is especially prominent. In contrast when membership in the S.P.R.V. is crosstabulated by community (Table 5.2) the

TABLE 5.1

PLACE OF RESIDENCE VARIATIONS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

MEMBER OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	Rossdale %	Cloverdale %	Lavigne %	Centretown %	Mill Creek %
No	55	45	41	74	25
Yes	45	55	59	26	75
(N)	(55)	(69)	(27)	(23)	(12)

Chi-square = 10.63; D.F. = 5; P < 0.05

TABLE 5.2

PLACE OF RESIDENCE VARIATIONS IN S.P.R.V. MEMBERSHIP

MEMBER OF A S.P.R.V.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE				
	Rossdale %	Cloverdale %	Lavigne %	Centretown %	Mill Creek %
No	95	89	70	83	83
Yes	5	11	30	17	17
(N)	(55)	(69)	(27)	(23)	(12)

Chi-square = 11.16; D.F. = 4; P < 0.04

level of membership is noticeably lower, ranging from 5% in Rossdale to 30% in Lavigne. Again, a much greater proportion of respondents in each community probably have been involved in some kind of community organized activity other than protest. Only in Centretown was the level of membership in a community organization especially low. However, in regard to membership of the S.P.R.V., Lavigne and Centretown have the highest proportion of respondents who were members and Rossdale the lowest. These data may indicate that the respondents in Lavigne and Centretown tended to be active for the particular purpose of opposing the river valley bylaw than those from Rossdale and Cloverdale.

5.2.2 Question 2: attendance at community organization meetings

Here the respondents were asked if they attend community group or community league meetings. In a supplementary question those who gave an affirmative answer were asked how often they did so. Attendance at meetings is regarded as an important indicator of the potential for active involvement in a dispute. Of the 181 respondents who replied to the question, 62% indicated that they do not attend community group or community league meetings, while 38% stated that they do.

Attendance at community group meetings was then crosstabulated membership in community groups and in the

S.P.R.V. (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). This was to determine how serious the members were about participating in community group activity in general and in the activities of the S.P.R.V., the protest coordinator, especially. In Table 5, 63% of the respondents who were members of a group indicated that they do attend community group meetings. This proportion of members who attend meetings is quite high considering the difficulties that voluntary community organizations constantly face in persuading residents to become involved in their activities (O'Brien 1975, Sharp 1982, Nachmias and Palen 1982, Fellman 1969). The members who do not attend meetings represent armchair supporters of the activities of the community organizations. It must be noted that those who attend meetings may be involved in social and recreational activities and not just protest activities.

Focusing on the S.P.R.V. (Table 5.4), 88% of the S.P.R.V. members indicated that they attend meetings of community organizations, suggesting that they as a group, are generally active in local affairs. The extent to which attendance represents involvement in S.P.R.V. meetings alone cannot be determined from the survey, although it may be inferred that it does reflect a high level of attendance at protest group meetings by members of the S.P.R.V.

When asked about frequency of attendance at community organization meetings, 75 respondents answered: 1% indicated that they attended meetings once per week, 13% once per

TABLE 5.3

VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS
BY MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

ATTEND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MEETINGS	MEMBER OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION No %	Yes %
No	89	37
Yes	11	63
(N)	(87)	(94)

Chi-square = 48.20; D.F. = 1; P < 0.00

TABLE 5.4

VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS
BY MEMBERSHIP IN THE S.P.R.V.

ATTEND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MEETINGS	MEMBER OF S.P.R.V. No %	Yes %
No	70	12
Yes	30	88
(N)	(156)	(23)

Chi-square = 30.17; D.F. = 1; P < 0.00

month, 26% once every two or three months and 60% only once or twice per year. The small proportion of respondents who attend meetings once per month or more can be presumed to represent the organizers of the community groups and the residents most interested in their affairs. At the other extreme the 60% of respondents who attend only once or twice per year are most likely residents who came out only at the height of the river valley dispute when public meetings or special community group meetings were being held.

Membership in the S.P.R.V. was crosstabulated by the frequency with which the respondents attend community group meetings (Table 5.5). This was designed to help determine the level of activity of S.P.R.V. members in the affairs of their community organizations, including it was presumed, protest against the river valley bylaw, since this was the major community concern at the time. It was necessary to collapse the number of categories in the frequency of attendance variable in order to increase the size of the cells in the crosstabulation matrix, so only two frequency categories appear. Those who were members of the S.P.R.V. were split between 60% who were more regular attenders and 40% who attended only once or twice per year. The data suggest that even within the protest organization, some members are more active in community affairs, and presumably the river valley protest, than others. This reflects the fact that membership in voluntary organizations requires little active effort but that it is more difficult to

TABLE 5.5

VARIATIONS IN FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE
AT MEETINGS WITH MEMBERSHIP IN THE S.P.R.V.

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS	MEMBER OF S.P.R.V. No %	Yes %
1 or 2 every three months	30	60
1 or 2 per year	70	40
(N)	(50)	(25)

Chi-square = 5.06; D.F. = 1; P < 0.02

TABLE 5.6

VARIATIONS IN PATTERN OF
COMMUNITY GROUP ACTIVITY WITH PLACE OF RESIDENCE

PATTERN OF ACTIVITY	PLACE OF RESIDENCE Rossdale %	Cloverdale %	Lavigne %	Centretown %	Other %
Constantly active	57	26	33	78	45
Active only when a threat arises	43	74	67	22	55
(N)	(42)	(54)	(21)	(9)	(11)

Chi-square = 15.143; D.F. = 4; P < 0.00

persuade the members to become actively involved in the affairs of any organization.

In contrast, a crosstabulation of membership in community organizations in general by frequency of attendance at meetings was not statistically significant. Consequently, it may be inferred that the S.P.R.V. members are more actively involved in community organizations than the members of other community groups and it may be suggested that this activity included the protest against river valley policy since it was a major concern for the valley neighbourhoods' organizers.

In another question supplementary to Q.2, the respondents were asked to name the posts in their local community organizations and the people who fill them. This was designed to help determine the amount of knowledge the residents have about their community organization, again as an indicator of their level of involvement. Of the 190 respondents, 73% did not choose to or could not answer the question, while 27% could name at least one post in the community organization and the person who filled that post. This response and the preceeding data suggest only a casual involvement in the affairs of the community organizations on the part of the majority of the survey population, and tend to lend support to the idea that only a small number of people were actively involved in the organized valley community efforts to change the river valley policy.

5.2.3 Question 3: pattern of community organization activity

Respondents were next asked whether their community organization is constantly active or only active when a serious threat or issue arises. The logic behind this question was to try to determine if there is any indication that the community organizations appear active only in times of crisis, such as when the threat formed by the proposed river valley A.R.P. of 1980 appeared, thereby taking up the so-called slack in the political system. One hundred and thirty-seven responses were made to the question, of which 42% indicated the opinion that their community organization is constantly active, while 58% consider it to be active only when a serious problem arises. This result is inconclusive. However, when place of residence was crosstabulated with the responses to question 3 (Table 5.6), it was found that half of the Rossdale respondents and three-quarters of the Centretown respondents believe their community group to be constantly active in the community. In contrast, three-quarters of the Cloverdale respondents and two-thirds of the Lavigne respondends regard their organizations as active only when a serious threat or issue arises. These data may reflect a feeling of deliberate mobilization for the purpose of opposing the river valley policy in Cloverdale and Lavigne, but generally more active community organization in Rossdale and Centretown.

5.2.4 Question 4: pattern of support for river valley proposals

In this question it was pointed out that the city of Edmonton has developed a number of proposals for the North Saskatchewan River valley, referring to the proposed A.R.P. of 1981 and the revised proposals made in the white paper of September 1982, as outlined in Chapter 3. The question was designed to clarify the residents' attitudes towards the river valley policy. They were asked if they support all, some or none of the proposals put forward by the City. Among the 159 responses, the majority, 60% stated that they support some of them. It is significant that almost two-thirds of the respondents did not oppose the river valley proposals outright. Forty-nine of the respondents who support some aspects of the river valley policy made their preferences clear in written comments. Thirty-three of them (67%) supported the ideas of protecting the natural beauty and amenity of the river valley, and of using the river valley for parks and recreational purposes. They also stated their support for the idea that parks and residences are compatible and can co-exist. This preference reflects closely that presented by the S.P.R.V. as one of their six principles of river valley planning and is suggestive of a close link between the views of these residents and the protest group. The question of support for the city's proposals was crosstabulated with membership in the S.P.R.V., but the result was not statistically significant,

lending support to the idea that there was no difference in attitude towards the city's proposals among members or non members of the S.P.R.V. Finally, 35% indicated that they do not support any of the city's river valley proposals while 4% support them all. Both of these responses suggest a lack of knowledge about the river valley dispute since each proposal is different and must be considered seperately.

5.2.5 Question 5: city contact with respondents

To gain some indication of the extent of contact between the city council as the protest target, and the residents in the valley neighbourhoods, as the protest constituents, the respondents were asked if they had ever been contacted personally by the City over the future of the river valley. An overwhelming majority, 163 out of 185 (88%), said no. This could help explain the high level of opposition and antagonism exhibited by the valley residents in the public meetings described in Chapter 3. It was also a situation that the S.P.R.V. was able to exploit, as it encouraged residents to become involved in the protest against the proposed river valley bylaw.

5.2.6 Questions 6 and 7: expression of opinions to city council

These questions are treated together because they are concerned with the expression of opinions by the valley residents to the city council, as a demonstration of active

involvement in the protest. In question 6 respondents were asked if they had expressed their opinions about the river valley policy, either personally to the city council or to the planners, or through their community organization, or by all these means, or if they had not expressed an opinion at all. The question was designed to help in determining the extent to which the residents actively made an effort to express their support or opposition for the policy proposals, and the extent to which they relied on their community groups to articulate their demands. Of the 184 respondents who answered the question, 41% replied that they had never expressed an opinion, leaving expression of the community viewpoint to others. Of the remainder, 2% said they had expressed their opinions directly to the city council and 5% directly to the planners, but the largest group of people who expressed an opinion, admitted they had left it to their community organization. A further 14% claimed to have used all these means to express their opinions about the river valley bylaw. The 21% total of respondents who were motivated to express their opinions personally to the council and planners are presumed to represent residents most actively involved in the protest. However, combining those who did not express an opinion with those who relied upon the community group, three-quarters of the respondents seem to indicate a reliance on the community organization to fulfil the task of articulationg the residents' demands to the city council. Once again these

data suggest that only a small group of residents were actively involved in protest, although having the support of the rest.

In question 7 respondents were asked if they had expressed an opinion about any other issue to the city council. The reason was to try to determine if the residents had been particularly motivated to express an opinion about the river valley issue, or if they tended to be highly vocal as a rule. Among the 181 replies only 18% said that they had not expressed an opinion about another issue to city council. However, these were all minor local concerns such as street cleaning, parking, and road repair. An attempt was then made to compare the answers to questions 6 and 7 in a crosstabulation. The data suggest that the respondents who expressed their opinion personally to the city council are as a rule a vocal if small group of people since all of them (4), had expressed an opinion to city council about another issue. However, not much weight can be placed on this result since 40% of the cells in the crosstabulation were too small for a strong conclusion to be reached.

5.2.7 Question 8: respondent solidarity

To help assess the degree of solidarity felt by the residents in the various valley neighbourhoods, in their opposition to the proposed bylaw, the respondents were asked if they felt that the river valley communities had been

fully supportive of one another. Of the 168 respondents to this question, 77% replied in the affirmative. This clear majority is indicative of a feeling of solidarity that can be regarded as important for the success of the protest.

5.2.8 Question 9: respondent attitudes towards other communitys protest efforts

This two part question was designed to help determine if the residents perceived any one community to be better organized and more active in the protest against the policy proposals. In the first part the respondents were asked if they regarded some communities as being more successful than others in their opposition to the City of Edmonton. Of the 160 responses, 37% indicated a belief that no community in particular had been more successful. Of the remaining 101 respondents who considered some communities to have been notably successful, 63% cited Riverdale because it had been removed from the acquisition policy in 1974. Another 24% regarded Rossdale as more successful than others, even though Rossdale was still under threat at that point. This response may be due to the vocal nature of the Rossdale community organizers and the presentation of the Rossdale Heritage Park plan. The remaining 14% of responses were divided among the other valley neighbourhoods and the wealthy residential areas on the tops of the valley banks and in the ravines.

The second part of the question attempted to gauge the confidence that the respondents had in the actions of their own community, by asking them to rate its organized response to the river valley proposals. A total of 166 respondents replied to the question: 65% rated their community's response as inconclusive, 15% saw it as merely delaying the inevitable, and 2% rated the community response as totally unsuccessful. The remaining 4% answered in the "other" category, indicating that the success of the community response depends totally on the will of the city council. Only 14% regarded the response as highly successful. In summary, responses seem to indicate an attitude of wait and see on the part of most of the respondents. Only a small minority exhibited a low level of confidence in the protest, while a small number showed a realization that the success of the protest is dependent on the political will of the city council. Those who regarded the actions of their communities as unsuccessful or merely delaying the inevitable seem to exhibit the feelings of despair or hopelessness which Fellman (1969) describes as often evident when neighbourhoods become involved in an extended dispute with city authoritites over planning proposals.

5.2.9 Question 10: respondent opinion and citizen participation

Along with question 11, this question was designed to gain some idea of the degree of dissatisfaction felt by the

valley residents with the consultative process, in the development of the river valley bylaw. It was thought that if dissatisfaction was evident it could have been a factor contributing to the motivation to participate in the protest activity. In question 10 the respondents were asked to rate the opportunity for citizen participation in the development of the proposed river valley bylaw. Of the 166 responses, 40% said the opportunity for citizen participation was poor and 23% saw it as non-existent. When combined, 63% of the respondents showed dissatisfaction with the opportunities for participation, but this still left 61 (37%) respondents who thought they were good to adequate.

5.2.10 Question 11: respondent attitudes towards the Citys consideration of community views

In this complementary question the respondents were asked to rate the city council and planners for their consideration of community views and reactions to the policy proposals. Of the 170 responses to the question, 89% regarded the municipal governments' consideration of community views as poor to non-existent. Only 11% thought it was good to adequate. It would seem that there was a large degree of dissatisfaaction with the way in which community views were regarded. An attempt was made to crosstabulate the responses to questions 10 and 11 but unfortunately 50% of the cells in the table were too small for reliable conclusions to be reached. Nevertheless the

data show that 79% of those who rated the opportunity to participate as good, also rated the council and planners consideration of community views as poor. Referring back to question 10, it can be inferred that although almost 40% of the respondents rated the opportunity to participate as being at least good to adequate, in general they regarded the result of that participation as poor, since the decision makers had paid little heed to their demands (at that time). This perception may have provided an impetus to the protest against the river valley bylaw.

5.2.11 Question 12: factors affecting river valley policy

This was excluded from the analysis because it became clear from the pattern of responses that the question had been misinterpreted by the respondents. It was intended to help determine if the residents could give an account of the factors that the city council and planners held as important in developing the river valley bylaw. If the respondents had been able to give such an account, it could have been interpreted as a sign of a high level of knowledge of the circumstances of the protest. Unfortunately, the respondents gave their own opinions of what should be important.

5.2.12 Question 13: respondent attitudes towards other actors in the dispute

Questions 13 and 14 were designed to help determine the residents opinions towards those other actors in the urban political system who were involved in the dispute. In question 13 the respondents were asked to identify which group, if any, the media supported in reporting the river valley dispute. This question was asked since the media play a pivotal role in transmitting the views and demands of the various interest groups to the decision makers (the protest target).

Of the 161 responses to the question, 51% regarded the media as having been more supportive of the river valley communities in general, 5% believed the media to have supported some communities more than others, 4 of these people indicated Rossdale as having benefited from this support, 11% believed the media to have supported the city council, 5.0% believed that the media supported the planners, and 28% regarded the media as equally supportive of all groups. A majority, 56% of the respondents seem to regard the media as sympathetic to the river valley communities. Such support may have been vital in the articulation of the protestors' demands to the city council.

5.2.13 Question 14: resident attitudes towards the origin of river valley policy

Here the respondents were asked to indicate if they felt that the planning department was merely carrying out the instructions of the city council. Then, in a

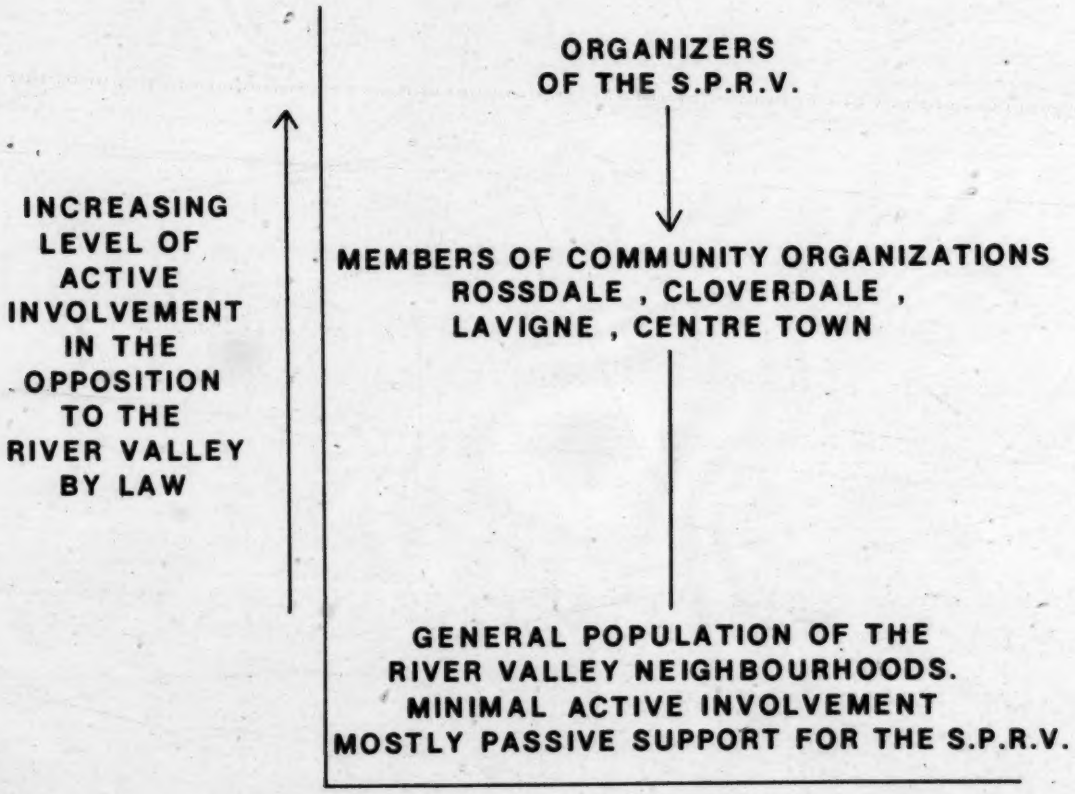
supplementary question (14a), they were asked if they considered the river valley proposals to reflect the desires of the planning department. From 164 responses to question 14, 67% indicated a belief that the planning department was carrying out the instructions of the city council, while 33% believed the area redevelopment plan to reflect the desires of the planners. This question was asked in order to help determine the residents view of who was responsible for the valley policy, and to help in ascertaining if the residents regard the city council or the planners as the target of the protest against the valley bylaw. Since two-thirds of the respondents believe that the planners were only doing what the city council instructed, it is suggested that the residents regard the city council as the target of their protest against the river valley policy. In question 14a the respondents who answered "no" to question 14 were asked if they felt that the river valley policy proposals reflected the desires of the planning department. Unfortunately it would appear that the respondents misinterpreted the question, since 73% indicated a contradictory belief that the proposals do reflect the desires of the planning department. Nevertheless, this response does not detract from the idea that the civic administration was the target of the protest, even if the respondents had some difficulty in distinguishing between the city council and the planning department.

5.3 Conclusions

In answer to research question 1: *Is there any evidence of a difference in the degree of active involvement in the organized efforts to change the river valley policy among the valley residents*, it is suggested that resident involvement in the protest against the river valley bylaw can be characterized in a pyramidal fashion (Figure 5.1). At the first level there is the general population of the river valley neighbourhoods in the local community leagues. Edmonton is noted for its well developed community league system. They form a focus of social and recreational interaction in many neighbourhoods and residents are often members of these organizations for such purposes. The relatively high percentage of respondents who indicate membership in community organizations in Table 3 are interpreted here to be members of the community leagues. The high percentage of respondents who attend meetings, as presented in table 5, is also interpreted to be representative of attendance at local community league meetings. Many of these respondents will not have been specifically concerned with the protest activity, but with wider social and recreational purposes. In chapter 3 it was noted that the protest organizers urged the residents, through their representatives in the community leagues, to write letters of protest and to attend public meetings to express their opposition to the river valley bylaw. The large number of submissions made at the public meetings and

Figure 5.1

PYRAMIDAL REPRESENTATION OF RESIDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROTEST AGAINST RIVER VALLEY POLICY



letters written to the media, council and planners, reflect the involvement of the residents in the community leagues. However, such resident involvement was temporary, being confined to periods when public hearings were held. Over time most residents did not devote their time and energy to protest but rather relied on a small group of regularly active protest organizers to carry out the tasks of protest, represented by the 14% of respondents who are members of the S.P.R.V. However, despite the possibility that the bulk of residents may not have been active regularly, they did support the aims of the protest and were highly aware of the progress of the protest. These residents may be termed as passively involved in the opposition to the area redevelopment plan. In question 4, the bulk of the respondents were knowledgeable enough not to dismiss the City's plan outright. Just over 20% of the respondents who indicated support for an aspect of the river valley policy, supported the principle of parks use in the river valley, but they also seemed to follow the S.P.R.V. line in their support of the idea that parks and residences can mix. This may be indicative a close contact with the S.P.R.V. The responses to question 5 suggest that contact between the residents and the City was minimal, so increasing the importance of the S.P.R.V. as a link between the residents and the decision-makers. From the responses to questions 6 and 7, it may be suggested that since three-quarters of the respondents were content to let the S.P.R.V actively

implement the protest, while passively supporting the aims of the organization, the bulk of the respondents were only passively involved in the efforts to oppose the river valley redevelopment plan. Although most of the residents were passive actors in the process of protest, there seems to have been no shortage of a sense of community autonomy among the residents. The data from questions 8 and 9 suggest that the bulk of the respondents felt that they were united in their opposition to the City's land use plan for the valley. Rossdale and Riverdale seem to have symbolized success in opposing the City, and their example may have encouraged many of the residents to remain confident in the success of the protest. Questions 10, 11, 13 and 14, enquired about the residents' attitudes towards the other actors involved in the conflict, and the consultative process. The responses suggest that the the residents felt that they had just cause for grievance against the City. Most respondents felt that the opportunity to participate in the development of the river valley land use plan was good to adequate; however there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the civic administration's consideration of the views of the residents in the river valley community. This sense of grievance may well have encouraged the residents to actively support the protest against the river valley bylaw, or at the very least may have made them look upon the S.P.R.V. as their best hope for success in opposing the City. For many it seems that such a passive support for the S.P.R.V. was as

far as their involvement went. The second level of active involvement in the protest against river valley policy concerns the executives of the local community leagues. The community league executive committees provided the individuals who formed the S.P.R.V.. They also acted as the link between the S.P.R.V. as the coordinating body of the protest, and the residents of the various valley communities. The community league executives were active in writing letters of protest, organizing community meetings and in the case of Rossdale, attempting to produce an alternative plan for their community. However not all the community league organizers were concerned with the protest alone: they were concerned with the day-to-day running of community activities other than protest, which brings us to the third level of involvement.

The individuals in the community groups who were most concerned about the issue formed the S.P.R.V. specifically for the purpose of developing an organized protest against the river valley bylaw. The group forms the core of the protest. Within the S.P.R.V. 40% of the members attend community group meetings only once or twice per year reflecting the problems faced by such voluntary neighbourhood associations in encouraging a constant level of active support. These data combined with information from minutes of S.P.R.V. meetings suggest that there were approximately only 20 regularly active members who developed the tactics of the protest and implemented them.

In light of the data presented it can be concluded that there is a difference in the level of active involvement in the efforts to oppose the river valley bylaw among the valley residents. The protest seems to have been carried on by a small group of dedicated residents and others who were determined to influence the city council to change its aim of removing the river valley communities. However, while the regularly active protestors were a small group, the bulk of the other valley residents supported the aims of the S.P.R.V. and some of these were occasionally involved in the protest when public hearings were held.

In the following chapter an explanation for the development of an organized protest against the river valley policy is sought by examining the socio-economic characteristics of the river valley residents.

6. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED PROTEST

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter an explanation for the development of an organized protest against the river valley bylaw proposals is sought by examining the socio-economic characteristics of the river valley residents in order to answer research question 2: *To what extent can the development of an organized protest against the proposed river valley bylaw be attributed to differences in socio-economic characteristics between the long-term incumbent residents and the newcomers in the valley neighbourhoods?* First, a socio-economic profile of the respondents was constructed from the responses to questions 15 to 22 on the survey. Then this information was combined with the responses to the questions related to knowledge of and involvement in the protest, in a series of crosstabulations. The purpose of these crosstabulations was to see if there were any differences in political behaviour between incumbent residents and newcomers. More specifically, the purpose was to determine if a group of higher socio-economic status was responsible for the development and running of the protest against the proposed river valley bylaw.

6.2 Responses to Question 15 to 22: socio-economic characteristics

6.2.1 Question 15: length of residency

First, the respondents were asked how long they had lived in their community or neighbourhood, in the expectation that people who have moved in comparatively recently are most likely to display the characteristics associated with gentrification. Out of the 190 respondents the single largest group, 53% indicated that they had lived in a river valley neighbourhood for between 1 and 10 years; in fact, 42% of the sample responded living there for 5 years or less. 28% of the respondents lived in the valley for between 11 and 30 years, and 19% for more than 30 years. As stated in Chapter 2 this mix of long and short term residents, with a large proportion of comparative newcomers, tends to be characteristic of neighbourhoods experiencing the early transitional stages of change preceeding the onset of the classic gentrification process. The survey data are also similar to the data presented in Chapter 3, produced by Statistics Canada and the City of Edmonton Planning Department. For the purposes of crosstabulation the age categories were collapsed to 1 to 5 years, 6 to 10 years, and greater than 10 years.

6.2.2 Question 16: place of birth

The respondents were also asked where they were born. The reason was to try to determine if the people who have moved into the river valley neighbourhoods recently were part of the in-migration to Edmonton during the economic boom of the 1970's. Of the 183 respondents who answered the question, 62% indicated having been born outside Edmonton. Length of residency was then crosstabulated by place of birth, but no significant relationship appeared in the data.

6.2.3 Question 17: age of the survey population

To determine the age structure of the sample population, the respondents were asked their year of birth. As stated earlier, in chapters 2 and 3, age is another indicator of residents who may be involved in the revitalization process. The responses were classified into 15 five year groups (Figure 6.1). Among the 177 responses the 26 to 30 years category forms the largest single group, containing 25% of the respondents. The 31 to 35 years and 36 to 40 years groups each represent 11% of the respondents. In total, 57% of the respondents are to be found in the five age categories up to and including 40 years old. Thus, the sample is dominated by those under 40 years of age, and within this group, by those between 26 and 30 years. Age was then crosstabulated with length of residence (Table 6.1). The data show that 70% of those between 20 years to 30 years, and 82% of those over 50 years old have lived in

Figure 6.1

AGE STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS

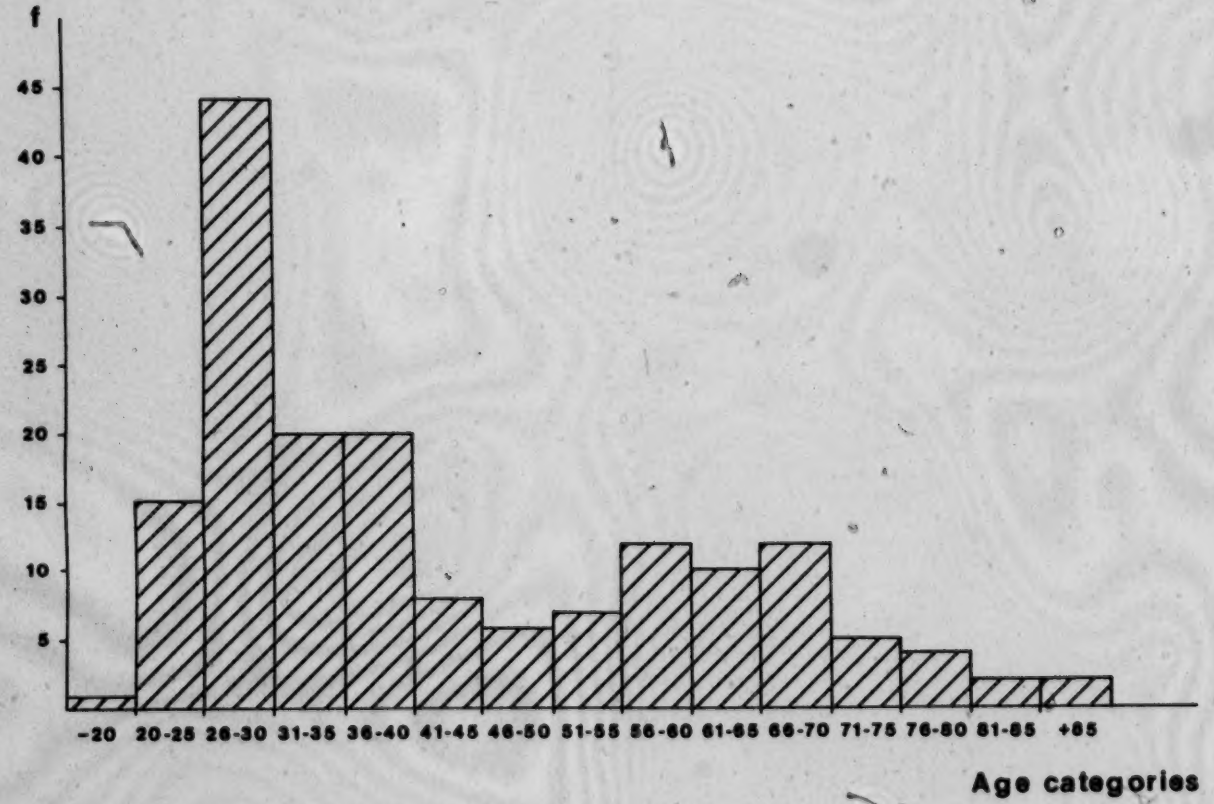


TABLE 6.1

VARIATIONS IN LENGTH OF RESIDENCY BY AGE

LENGTH OF RESIDENCY	AGE 20-30 years %	31-40 years %	41-50 years %	>50 years %
1 - 5 years	70	55	47	9
6 - 10 years	10	20	20	9
> 10 years	20	25	33	82
(N)	(59)	(40)	(15)	(75)

Chi-square = 68.27; D.F. = 6; P < 0.00

TABLE 6.2

VARIATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	LENGTH OF RESIDENCY 1-5 years %	6-10 years %	>10 years %
Less than high school	9	8	46
Completed high school	22	12	21
Some post-secondary	20	17	11
Completed post-secondary	49	63	22
(N)	(74)	(24)	(85)

Chi-square = 38.05; D.F. = 6; P < 0.00

the valley for more than 10 years. 80% of those over 66 years old have lived in the valley for more than 10 years. Thus, the younger, more recent arrivals and older, long-term incumbents can clearly be identified in the survey population.

6.2.4 Question 18: educational attainment

A high level of education is another characteristic of people identified as gentrifiers, so the respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education they had completed. Of the 183 who replied, 39% indicated they had completed a post-secondary program at a university or college, 15% had experienced some post-secondary education, 20% had completed high school only and 26% had not completed high school. Length of residence was crosstabulated by educational attainment (Table 6.2). The results indicate that the recently arrived residents are more highly educated than the incumbents, since two-thirds of those who had been resident for 1 to 5 years had at least some post-secondary education, while almost half had completed a post-secondary program. Of those resident in the valley for 6 to 10 years, 63% indicated having completed a post-secondary program. In contrast, of those who lived in the valley for more than 10 years, two-thirds had a high school education or less. Once again these data represent the mixture of young, recently arrived and well-educated gentrifiers and the traditional population of older, long-term and less highly educated

incumbents.

6.2.5 Question 19: occupational status

The usual occupation of the principal wage earner in each household was investigated next, because those who are involved in the revitalization of neighbourhoods are often regarded as having professional or white-collar occupational status. Among the 170 replies to the question, 14% were from professional people, 32% from white-collar workers, 33% from blue-collar workers and 21% from those in the non-working category (mainly retired). The traditional blue-collar component of the valley population is well represented in the survey, but the emergent white-collar and professional groups have been captured as well; together 50% of the respondents were in those categories. Once again the mix of occupational types tends to be suggestive of social and economic change in the valley communities.

6.2.6 Question 20: level of income

To complement question 19 the respondents were also asked to indicate their family income from a choice of five categories. Of the 166 responses, 37% indicated a family income of between $20,000 and $35,000 per year, 37% an income of less than $20,000 per year, 20.5% earned between $36,000 and $50,000 per year and 5% indicated earning more then $50,000 per year. Length of residency was crosstabulated with income in order to try to isolate the

more recently arrived, higher-income gentrifiers (Table 6.3). However, the pattern of income does not seem to follow that usually associated with gentrification Among the most recently arrived respondents 45% earn between $20,000 and $35,000 per year and 72% earn less than $36,000 per year. Among those who have lived in the river valley communities for more than 10 years 45% earn less than $20,000 per year and 78% less than $36,000 per year.

In order to understand this pattern better, income was crosstabulated with occupational status (Table 6.4). The data revealed that 76% of those in the lowest income category were in the non-working and blue-collar categories combined. In both the $20,000 to $35,000 and $36,000 to $50,000 categories the majority of respondents were in the white-collar and blue-collar categories combined. Finally, 89% of those who earn more than $50,000 per year were in the professional occupational category. These results tend to suggest that the valley communities contain a combination of upwardly mobile white-collar workers, and blue collar-workers. The communities do not seem to have yet become dominated by gentrifiers in the usually accepted sense of people with much money who can afford to spend extensively on revitalization.

6.2.7 Question 21: number of children living at home

In this question the respondents were asked how many children they have living at home because, as previously

TABLE 6.3

VARIATIONS IN INCOME BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

INCOME	LENGTH OF RESIDENCY 1-5 years %	6-10 years %	>10 years s %
< $20,000	27	36	45
$20,000-$35,000	45	27	33
$36,000-$50,000	25	27	15
> $50,000	3	10	7
(N)	(69)	(22)	(75)

Chi-square = 8.96; D.F. = 6; Not Significant at .05 level

TABLE 6.4

VARIATIONS IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS WITH INCOME

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	INCOME < $20,000	$20,000 to $35,000	$36,000 to $50,000	> $50,000
Professional	4	5	23	89
White-collar	19	43	38	11
Blue-collar	30	44	36	0
Non-working	47	8	3	0
(N)	(57)	(60)	(34)	(9)

Chi-square = 92.166; D.F. = 9; P < 0.00

stated in chapter 2, gentrifiers tend to be single or, if married have few or no children. However, the results were inconclusive, felt to be irrelevant, and were excluded from the analysis.

6.2.8 Question 22: housing tenure

Here the respondents were asked if they own or rent their homes. Of the 184 respondents to this question, 51% were owners and 49% were renters. Such a combination is in agreement with the idea that an area experiencing the early stages of revitalization may contain both owners and renters who are both equally likely to be gentrifiers.

6.2.9 Discussion

The profile emerging from the responses is one that exhibits a number of characteristics often found in areas experiencing the early transitional stages of revitalization, preceding the onset of the accepted form of gentrification. The data show a mixture of responses to every question. Although the majority of respondents are under 45 years old the older age categories are still well represented. Table 6.3 shows a combination of young relative newcomers and long term incumbent residents in the valley communities. The communities have exchanged their traditional blue-collar character for an increasingly white-collar identity, with half the respondents comprising white-collar or professional workers. A combination of

income groups appears also, with 26% of the respondents earning over $36,000 per year and 36% earning less than $20,000 per year. Educational attainment shows that almost 40% of the respondents have completed post-secondary education at university or some other form of college, yet 26% of the respondents did not complete high school. This profile suggests that the neighbourhoods are experiencing social and economic change but have not yet completely abandoned their traditional socio-economic character.

6.3 Involvement In Community Organizations And Socio-Economic Characteristics

6.3.1 Introduction

A number of crosstabulations were carried out between the responses to the socio-economic questions and the responses to the questions related to resident involvement in the protest against the river valley bylaw. The purpose was to see if there were any differences in political behaviour between incumbents and newcomers. More specifically the analysis was designed to determine if a group of comparatively high status had exercized a leadership role in the protest against the river valley policy.

6.3.2 Membership In Community Groups and Socio-Economic Status

Membership in a community organization was crosstabulated by selected socio-economic variables to try to determine if some types of residents were more likely to be members and therefore more likely to have been involved in the protest against the river valley policy. Age was the first variable to be tested (Table 6.5). It was found, contrary to expectations, that respondents in the 46 to 66 years age group were most likely to belong to a community community organization (64%), whereas those in the youngest age group were least likely (44%). The respondents in the oldest age group fall in between. These data may reflect membership in a variety of local community organizations for purposes other than protest, and so indicate that many of the younger residents have not yet developed strong community ties or affiliations, while those in the middle age range have. Since the younger residents also tend to be comparative newcomers (table 6.6) they may regard the valley communities as their place of residence for a temporary period only and have no real interest in community affairs.

The professionals who are members probably represent the organizers of the local community leagues since, as stated in chapter 2, professionals often become involved in local community organization.

Length of residency was crosstabulated with membership (Table 6.6). It was found that those who have lived in the

TABLE 6.5

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS WITH AGE

MEMBER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	AGE <46 years %	46-66 years %	>46 years %
No	56	36	45
Yes	44	64	55
(N)	(107)	(42)	(40)

Chi-square = 5.36; D.F. = 2; Not Significant at .05 level

TABLE 6.6

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP WITH LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

MEMBER OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	LENGTH OF RESIDENCY 1-5 years %	6-10 years %	>10 years %
No	60	42	42
Yes	40	58	58
(N)	(76)	(24)	(89)

Chi-square = 6.51; D.F. = 2; P < 0.03

valley neighbourhoods for 6 to 10 years and those in the more than 10 years category, have the greatest tendency to be members of a community organization, 58% each. In contrast three-fifths of the most recently arrived residents are not members of a community organization. Once again these data may represent a situation where the most recently arrived residents have not yet developed a community loyalty or affiliation to the extent that the longer term residents have, and consequently are less involved in local community affairs.

Finally tenure was crosstabulated with membership in a community organization (Table 6.7) it was found that almost two-thirds of the owners were members, as compared with less than 40% of the renters. The result suggests that owner-occupiers are more likely to be involved in local community affairs, for obvious reasons; they have a much greater investment in the community, and have a greater stake in its future.

Attempts were made to crosstabulate membership in a community organization by income and educational attainment. However, the data were far from statistical significance, casting doubts upon their reliability. They were not used in the analysis.

6.3.3 Attendance at Community Organization Meetings and Socio-Economic Status

TABLE 6.7

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP WITH TENURE

MEMBER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	TENURE Own %	Rent %
No	35	62
Yes	65	38
(N)	(93)	(90)

Chi-square = 12.04; D.F. = 1; P < 0.00

TABLE 6.8

VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS WITH HOUSING TENURE

ATTEND MEETINGS	TENURE Own %	Rent %
No	52	71
Yes	48	29
(N)	(89)	(87)

Chi-square = 6.31; D.F. = 1; P < 0.01

Crosstabulations were attempted for the question of attendance at community organization meetings by the socio-economic variables, but most of these were far from statistical significance and were not used in the analysis. However, the fact that they were not significant suggests that no particular kind of people can be distinguished as responsible for running the community organizations in general.

When housing tenure was crosstabulated with attendance at meetings (Table 6.8), it was found that almost half of the owner-occupiers attend meetings as compared with just over one-quarter of the renters. This result is statistically significant and is likely to reflect, once again, the stronger community ties of owner-occupiers.

6.3.4 Frequency of Attendance at Meetings and Socio-Economic Status

A number of crosstabulations were conducted in order to try to determine if those who attend community organization meetings on a more regular basis are of a higher socio-economic status than those than those who attend less often. For the purpose of crosstabulation the frequency of attendance categories were collapsed to two due to a problem of an excess number of small cells in the table. First, the crosstabulation by occupational status (Table 6.9) although not statistically significant, does reveal a pattern. Over half of the professionals and exactly half of the

TABLE 6.9

VARIATIONS IN FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE WITH OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS Professional %	White-Collar %	Blue-Collar %	Non-Working %
1 or 2 every 3 months	54	32	50	20
1 or 2 per year	46	68	50	80
(N)	(13)	(22)	(18)	(15)

Chi-square = 4.89; D.F. = 3; Not significant at the .05 level

TABLE 6.10

VARIATIONS IN FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE WITH AGE

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE	AGE <46 years %	46-66 years %	>66 years %
1 or 2 every 3 months	49	29	33
1 or 2 per year	51	71	67
(N)	(39)	(21)	(15)

Chi-square = 2.65; D.F. = 2; Not significant at the .05 level

blue-collar workers attend community organization meetings once or twice every three months, as compared with less than one-third of the white-collar workers and only one-fifth of the non-working (retired) group. That is, the professional and blue-collar respondents have the greatest tendency to attend community organization meetings frequently. This pattern may reflect a combination of professionals involved in organizing and running the groups, and attendance by blue collar respondents for a wider range of social and recreational purposes other than protest. The low rate of attendance by the non working respondents may appear to contradict the result shown in table 6.10, but it can be interpreted to mean that they are willing to support their community organizations but are not highly active participants in their affairs.

A crosstabulation of age with frequency of attendance at local community organization meetings (Table 6.10) was not statistically significant, but again a pattern was evident in the data. Almost half of the respondents who were less than 46 years old indicated that they attended community organization meetings once or twice every three months, whereas 70% of the middle-aged group and two-thirds of the older respondents attended only once or twice per year. These data suggest that among those who do attend meetings, the younger respondents exhibit the greatest tendency to attend regularly. They are followed by those over 66 years old, of whom one-third attend relatively

regularly, while the middle-aged group seem to have the least tendency to attend meetings regularly. These data may represent young residents who are involved in the social and recreational activities of the community leagues, and long term incumbent residents who have developed a longstanding interest in the affairs of their neighbourhoods. This idea is supported by the events of the dispute, when older incumbent residents were prominent as spokesmen on behalf of their neighbourhoods. They were also spokesmen who were hoped to be respected more by the city council than the younger more recently arrived residents.

6.3.5 Socio-Economic Characteristics and the S.P.R.V.

In this section the analysis is focused upon the protest coordinator, the S.P.R.V., to try to determine if those who were most directly involved in the protest organization were of a higher socio-economic status, such as is associated with gentrifiers, or if there was a combination of incumbents with the newcomers. Income, occupational status, educational attainment, and tenure were crosstabulated with the question of membership in the S.P.R.V. Crosstabulations of length of residence and age with membership in the protest group did not come close to statistical significance and were excluded from the analysis.

The crosstabulation of income with the question of membership in the S.P.R.V. (Table 6.11) proved to be

TABLE 6.11

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP OF S.P.R.V. WITH INCOME

MEMBER OF S.P.R.V.	INCOME <$20,000 %	$20,000 to $35,000 %	$36,000 to $50,000 %	>$50,000 %
No	91	90	76	56
Yes	9	10	24	44
(N)	(61)	(62)	(34)	(9)

Chi-square = 12.26; D.F. = 3; P < 0.00

TABLE 6.12

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP OF S.P.R.V. WITH OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

MEMBER OF S.P.R.V.	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS Professional %	White-Collar %	Blue-Collar %	Non-Working %
No	54	93	89	89
Yes	46	7	11	11
(N)	(24)	(54)	(57)	(35)

Chi-square = 21.92; D.F. = 3; P < 0.00

statistically significant. The data indicate that membership in the S.P.R.V. is related to increasing levels of income. Only 9% of those earning less than $20,000 per year and 10% of those who earned between $20,000 and $35,000 per year were members, as compared with 24% in the $36,000 to $50,000 category and 44% of those who earned more than $50,000 per year. The significance of this relationship is in marked contrast to the lack of a significant relationship when income was crosstabulated with membership in community organizations in in general. This pattern tends to conform to the idea expressed in chapter 2 that it is often the relatively affluent newcomers to neighbourhoods who become involved in activist or avant garde community organizations such as the S.P.R.V.

When occupation was crosstabulated with the question of membership in the S.P.R.V. (Table 6.12), it was found that almost half of the professionals were members whereas the great majority of respondents in the other occupational categories were not. This reinforces even more graphically than Table 6.11, the dominant role of an elite core of community residents, and again is in contrast to the lack of a significant relationship between occupational status and membership in community organizations in general.

A high educational attainment is also regarded as characteristic of newcomers who become involved in organizing and revitalizing neighbourhoods. Again, the survey data suggest that the proportion of respondents who

are members of the S.P.R.V. does indeed increase with the level of educational attainment (Table 6.13). At the lowest level only 6% of those with less than a high school diploma were members of the protest group, as compared with 8% of those who had completed high school, 14% of those with some post-secondary education, and 23% of those who had completed a post-secondary program at a university or other college. It therefore can be inferred that the more highly educated respondents show the greatest tendency to be members of the protest organization.

6.4 Discussion

In answer to research question 2:*To what extent can the development of an organized protest against the proposed river valley bylaw be attributed to differences in socio-economic characteristics between the long-term incumbent residents and the newcomers in the river valley neighbourhoods?*, there seem to be differences in the characteristics of those who are members of the local community organizations in general, and the members of the protest organization. There is some evidence that the members of the community organizations were a combination of socio-economic types. The tendency to attend meetings seems to increase with income. Although Those who more regularly attended meetings were a combination of professional and blue-collar workers (Table 6.9). This may reflect involvement by different types of people for different

TABLE 6.13

VARIATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP
OF S.P.R.V. WITH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

MEMBER OF S.P.R.V.	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT <High School	Completed High School	Some Post-Secondary	Completed Post-Secondary
No	94	92	86	77
Yes	6	8	14	23
(N)	(47)	(37)	(28)	(70)

Chi-square = 7.75; D.F. = 3; $P < 0.05$

reasons. Some will undoubtedly have been involved in the organization and running of the local community organization and in community issues, while many will have been involved in the local community leagues for various social and recreational purposes alone, rather than out of a great interest in community affairs. There is some evidence also that some of the younger, most recently arrived residents have not yet developed a sense of affiliation with their neighbourhood. The proportion of respondents indicating membership in a community organization was greater among those who have lived in the valley neighbourhoods for more than 6 years, than than among those who have lived in the valley neighbourhoods for 1 to 5 years (Table 6.6). The tendency to be a member of a community organization was also greater in the middle aged, 46 to 66 years group than among those who were less than 46 years old (Table 6.5). However, among the respondents who were members and attend meetings the tendency to attend on a more regular basis was greatest among those who were less than 46 years old (Table 6.10).

Comparing the socio-economic characteristics of the S.P.R.V. members with those of the members of the community organizations in general, it is evident that the protest group members were a much more clearly distinguishable group. The data in Tables 19 to 21 suggest that the S.P.R.V. members were a small group of highly educated, relatively wealthy professionals. The combination of socio-economic characteristics which seems to comprise the

membership of the community organizations does not appear among the members of the protest organization, to the same extent. This leads to the conclusion that although the people involved in the local community organizations display a wide range of characteristics, the protest was developed and run by a small group of residents with a higher socio-economic status than the majority of the residents. This group can also be associated with the revitalization of the river valley neighbourhoods, probably in the initial stage of a process of gentrification.

7. THE PROTEST TACTICS ADOPTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE RIVER VALLEY.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to address the third research question: *What tactics were adopted by the protest constituents and the protest coordinator to fulfil their political goal of changing river valley policy?* These tactics were developed by the core organizers of the S.P.R.V. but were not systematically listed by them in the form that appears in this chapter. The list presented here is based on my interpretation, and is designed to impose order on substantially less ordered events. As stated earlier, these tactics represent attempts by the protestors to maximize their chances of success in changing the river valley policy, and to participate more directly in the urban political system. The data used to address the question were drawn from an analysis of minutes taken at meetings of the S.P.R.V. between 1981 and 1983, from interviews with a number of the organizers of this group and from a review of newspaper articles.

7.2 Tactic 1: Use of the skills of the organizers

The collective skills of the organizers of the S.P.R.V. encompassed two planners, two architects, three trained lawyers, two professors, three businessmen in management positions, a teacher and a broadcaster. These individuals

also had links to other professionals outside the valley communities who could provide useful skills or information. Since the S.P.R.V. lacked funds, a deliberate effort was made to take advantage of the professional skills of the members of the group, on a voluntary basis. The tasks to be carried out were divided among ad hoc committees according to the skills of the members. Those with legal training were able to study the legal implications of the bylaw. Those trained in planning were able to review and criticize the substantive aspects of the area redevelopment plan and to produce alternative proposals. Two members even attempted to prepare an alternative plan for the river valley, but, as with many voluntary community organizations, neither the individuals nor the group had sufficent resources of time or money to devote to such a large task. Eventually, the S.P.R.V. decided to hire one of the executive members as a full-time organizer. He was paid approximately $4,000 for his work. Even so, other business commitments forced him to resign his position. On balance this tactic was not particularly effective, although the ability to read and critically evaluate planning documents undoubtedly benefited the society.

7.3 Tactic 2: use of the communications media

The S.P.R.V. made a conscious decision to use the communications media to try to make the river valley dispute a well-known civic issue. They constantly characterized the

planning bylaw as unjust and uncaring, and used the media repeatedly to present counterproposals to the public and city council. Three main devices were adopted. First, press conferences were held in the river valley communities. Representatives of the press were invited and the S.P.R.V. organizers outlined the views of the residents, the contradictions they felt existed in the policy and alternatives that the city should consider. Aldermen and planners were also asked to attend to answer questions before the media, but they normally declined. A second device was to conduct media tours of the river valley communities. These were designed to create support for the protest by demonstrating the attractive nature of the areas. Third, numerous letters were written to newspaper editors by members of the S.P.R.V., asking for support in the protest against the bylaw proposals. An example is included in Appendix 2. The neighbourhood residents were constantly urged to write letters of protest to the correspondence pages of local newspapers as well. One member of the S.P.R.V. also had contacts with the television media, which was undoubtedly useful when the society became involved in an election forum programme on Q.C.T.V. before the 1983 election.

It must be noted that the media were strongly self-motivated to cover the river valley dispute after the appearance of hundreds of angry protestors at the public hearings in 1981. The bylaw protest was a good news item,

and the S.P.R.V. encouraged media interest by emphasizing the human cost of the property acquisitions proposed in the area redevelopment plan.

7.4 Tactic 3: the attempt to gain a wide base of support

It was considered important to gain the widest base of support for the S.P.R.V., so as to strengthen the call for a change in the river valley policy. Consequently, an attempt was made to gain public declarations of support from as many types of people and as many areas of the city as possible. Community leagues were contacted and invited to send representatives to meetings of the S.P.R.V. They were also asked to write letters to the newspapers, city council and individual aldermen, and to prepare submissions for public hearings. Residents of areas outside the river valley neighbourhoods made 95 written submissions after the presentation of the river valley policy white paper, in 1982. Community organizations representing Strathcona, Garneau, Oliver, Groat Estates, and Glamorgan Heights wrote to the civic administration stating their opposition to the proposed area redevelopment plan. In addition, because some aldermen tried to characterize the society as a small group of selfish, recently arrived opportunists, it was necessary for the S.P.R.V. to encourage the residents to attend meetings and write letters to demonstrate a wide base of support within the valley neighbourhoods. An example of the type of letter urging resident action is included in

Appendix 3. To further discourage an elitist tag, various slogans were adopted such as "planners versus people" and "the valley is for people". Other slogans were coined to try and discredit the bylaw, such as "the bylaw without a heart" and "bankrupt the city". The value of the communities as "heritage neighbourhoods" was emphasized as well.

7.5 Tactic 4: coordination of the protest

The fourth tactic was to coordinate and direct the discontent of the valley residents. The S.P.R.V. felt that any process of dialogue between the residents and the city council could be conducted much more effectively if there was a single identifiable group acting as their collective voice. Because the S.P.R.V. was comprised of representatives of the areas to be directly affected by the bylaw and other groups sympathetic to their cause, it saw itself as providing that voice. At meetings of the society, information from the neighbourhoods was presented. The activities of the civic administration were discussed, and action to be taken by the group was decided upon. This information was then disseminated to the valley residents by means of pamphlets, newsletters, and community meetings organized by the S.P.R.V., as well as through personal contact with neighbours. The society gave direction and organization to the submissions made at the bylaw hearings. Residents making submissions were asked to be brief and an

attempt was made to avoid repetition. At the hearings in May 1981 submissions were made by 17 members who were at the core of the S.P.R.V. Two of these were made directly on behalf of the protest organization. One individual was hired to present a summation of the arguments presented at the bylaw hearings and 14 submissions were made by S.P.R.V. members on behalf of their respective communities, reflecting their coordinating role. At the same time, any residents who felt the desire to express their opinions were free to do so. Some elderly, incumbent residents spoke out in opposition to the proposed acquisitions. This was useful to the S.P.R.V. since it demonstrated to the civic administration that the aims of the younger residents did not conflict with those of the incumbent residents.

The submissions made by the older residents tended to be emotional, emphasizing the social hardship that the bylaw would cause. Those made on behalf of the S.P.R.V. were based on four points of argument. First, that no one in the city had expressed a desire for the bylaw except the city council. Second, that pursuit of the bylaw would entail a prohibitive cost for the taxpayers. Third, the society argued that the neighbourhoods were historically significant and worthy of preservation. Finally, the injustice of displacing people from their homes was emphasized.

7.6 Tactic 5: avoidance of links to political organizations

The S.P.R.V. decided to avoid links to any civic political organizations, for two reasons. First, an affiliation with a particular group could result in a loss of support from people with different views. Second, the members of the S.P.R.V. themselves held differing party political viewpoints, so it was important to avoid the risk of internal dissension. As pluralist theory would express it, the S.P.R.V. was an issue oriented organization, a coalition of individuals and groups that had come together for the purpose of addressing a particular problem.

7.7 Tactic 6: the use of lobbying

Individual aldermen were lobbied constantly, to try to win support on the city council, as the decision-making body. Lobbying was regarded as very important since the City Council was evenly split on the river valley issue. If only one councillor who supported the parkland policy could have been persuaded to vote the other way, then the balance of voting on council might have been changed in favour of preserving the river valley communities.

However, by September 1982 the members of the S.P.R.V. began to feel that the existing council was unpersuadable. They continued to press for change, but the city council was becoming reluctant to deal with the issue. The bylaw was shelved while council waited for additional studies to be completed. The S.P.R.V. therefore began to look toward the

municipal election of November 1983 as its best hope of securing majority support, and began to lobby candidates as early as July. The emphasis was placed on new candidates who gave a commitment to vote for the preservation of the valley communities if they were elected. Thus, the S.P.R.V. came to rely on political change as vital to a change in the planning policy.

7.8 Tactic 7: the emphasis on cooperation and participation

Initially the community response to the river valley bylaw proposals was an adversary one characterized by threats of legal action against the City. However, late in March 1982, the S.P.R.V. decided to emphasize cooperation and participation. To this end representatives of the group met with a member of the council's special river valley committee. The society requested that a community planner be hired to work in conjunction with the city planning department. This form of cooperation was unacceptable to the council as they felt they should not work with just one group. On 20 April 1982, the planning department also refused a request from the S.P.R.V. for financial assistance in order to hire a planner to assist them in preparing planning proposals of their own for the river valley. The planners stated that they did not have money in their budget for such action, but that they were always happy to work in cooperation with interested parties, within the provisions for citizen consultation provided by the Alberta Planning

Act.

7.9 Tactic 8: the attempt to produce an alternative plan

This tactic involved an attempt to produce an alternative plan document for the river valley. A professionally produced plan was regarded as a valuable way of showing the city council that alternatives to property acquisition did exist, and that the communities had the capability to be fully involved in the development of a plan. Initially it was intended to hire professional consultants to produce a plan, but an architect/planner who was a member of the S.P.R.V. estimated that that would cost between $22,000 and $24,000. Since the S.P.R.V. did not have that much money, the planners in the organization next tried to work on a plan on a voluntary basis. As already mentioned that too failed. The society then met with some consultant planners to discuss what could be done with the limited resources available. It was decided that only a brief report could be produced.

Apart from the financial cost, a number of events served to lessen the emphasis on the preparation of an alternative plan. First, some of the S.P.R.V. executive members pointed out that, in their view, it was the responsibility of the City to produce a plan for the river valley and that it was the job of the society to convince the council to incorporate their "six principles of river valley planning" into such a plan. Some of the executive

also pointed to the danger that a plan produced by the S.P.R.V. might itself draw opposition from some river valley residents. Second, the presentation in the 1982 White Paper of a number of scenarios, of which the preservation of the valley communities was one, meant that there was less need for an S.P.R.V. plan. Then, in November 1982 the Rossdale Rossdale Community League produced the "Rossdale Heritage Park Plan", which served to demonstrate that alternative proposals were possible. Consequently, the S.P.R.V. never did produce a plan of its own.

7.10 Discussion

The first point to stand out from this review of the tactics of the S.P.R.V. is that a major emphasis was placed on publicity, which was rightly regarded as vital in making an issue of the dispute. If the dispute had not been brought into the public perception, then the protest against the bylaw would have been futile. The S.P.R.V.'s use of the communications media was probably their most successful tactic. The organizers seem to have realized the importance of the media as a means of articulating demands to the decision makers, as well as creating a climate of public opinion which can, as Lipsky (1970) points out, sometimes strongly influence the decisions made by the politicans. Related to this, it is likely that the S.P.R.V. attempts to create a broad base of support for the protest were greatly helped by the publicity the dispute garnered in local press

and television reports. The fact of broad support is reflected by the large number of letters written to the planners, both by valley residents and by people living outside the river valley, opposing the proposed bylaw.

The S.P.R.V. was also successful in its attempt to act as the coordinator of the protest against the area redevelopment plan. Because there was a single organization acting as the voice of the valley residents' protests against the proposed bylaw, an impression of a very strong, solid front of opposition was created. This may have helped to convince some aldermen that the proposals in the plan should be reconsidered. The S.P.R.V. was also able to coordinate the submissions made at public meetings in such a way that the planners faced much stronger and more systematically organized counter-arguments than is usual on these occasions.

On the negative side a number of the tactics failed. First, the attempt to use the skills of a number of professionals in the S.P.R.V. was severely hampered by the problem, faced by most voluntary organizations, of limited amounts of time and money. On one hand, those with useful skills such as planners and lawyers could donate only a limited amount of time to the organization. On the other, even when they were available to work for the organization, there was little money available to work with. A combination of these problems led to the failure of an S.P.R.V. attempt to produce its own plan for the river

valley. Second, the tactic of seeking a cooperative relationship with the civic administration failed because the S.P.R.V. wanted to be more directly involved in the planning process than the city Council or planning department were prepared to accept. However, the S.P.R.V. benefited from the negative response since it was given the opportunity to characterize the City as unreasonable, and so to create some sympathy for the protest. Finally, the success of the lobbying tactic is difficult to assess since it is impossible to judge how aldermen would have voted on the river valley issue if the S.P.R.V. had not been constantly asking them to vote for the preservation the valley neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, the tactics adopted by the S.P.R.V. can be related back to various aspects of the pluralist, stratificationist, and revisionist approaches to community power which were presented in Chapter 2. First, by their emphasis on the use of the communications media, the protestors showed an awareness of the idea expressed in stratificationist theory that the media can either suppress an issue, by ignoring it, or they can create an issue, by playing it up. In this case, the protestors used the media in two ways:

1. In the capacity of what Lipsky, in his process of protest, called a "reference public". This means that the media acted as one of a number of groups of people to whom the protestors could present their demands, in

order to try to create a climate of public opinion favourable to the preservation of the river valley neighbourhoods.

2. In the capacity of channels of communication by means of which the protestor's demands could be brought before the other reference publics, such as the general public of Edmonton.

Second, it seems that the S.P.R.V. and the City of Edmonton held different conceptions of participation and cooperation. By adopting the tactics described, especially the attempt to produce their own plan and the request for a community planner, the protestors were attempting to gain the right to more direct participation in policy making for the river valley. They wanted community participation to begin at the early stages of plan preparation, rather than at the later stage of public meetings or hearings, where they were limited to comments and questions which, in their view, could be ignored by the decision makers. Such an approach tends to suggest that the protestors had a pluralist view of the urban political system. They felt they had a right, as a residential interest group, to participate more fully in the development of a plan that was going to affect their neighbourhoods, that is, to function on a higher level of Arnstein's ladder of participation. In contrast, by its actions the City placed its emphasis on consultation in the form of mandatory public hearings and meetings, organized by the politicans and planners, and

satisfying the letter of the Alberta Planning Act. These tended to inform the residents of the City's intentions and to justify them as being in the general public interest. While the residents were allowed to state their opinions, there was no guarantee that those opinions would be heeded. On Arnstein's ladder, this is a token form of participation.

Third, the response by some aldermen to the protestors, characterizing them as selfish opportunists, is characteristic of a tendency, described in revisionist theory, for the decision-makers to attempt to make the protestors seem unreasonable or misguided. However, the protestors seem to have sucessfully countered this by remaining strictly issue-oriented and gathering a wide base of support from other community leagues and organizations outside the river valley. This tends to reflect Dahl's idea that there is a constantly changing array of groups coalescing and dividing, issue by issue, in the urban political system.

8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Discussion

In this section the river valley conflict is related back to the systemic framework presented in Chapter 4. First, in reference to the extra-system environments, it must be concluded that the downswing in the economic climate of Alberta in the 1980s was influential in the river valley dispute in that less money was available for large, expensive development projects. This may have discouraged the provincial government from becoming involved in the river valley as they had done in the past through the Capital City Park plan, and may explain the apparent lack of interest shown by the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation in the Rossdale Heritage Park plan. At the same time the wider ideological environment was also changing, generating ideas that were transmitted to the residents of the river valley neighbourhoods. Their protest reflects an ideological commitment to heritage conservation, as evidenced by the Rossdale Heritage Park Plan, to the revitalization of inner-city neighbourhoods, as reflected by the desire to protect the neighbourhoods and maintain them in a viable condition, and to citizen participation as reflected by the protestors desire for a fuller and more direct participation in the planning process.

With respect to intra-system environments, the depressed state of the local economy in Edmonton was

undoubtedly influential in the river valley dispute. In the early 1970s there was a tendency to favour "big projects" and a "growth is good" ethic. In those years money was more readily available for schemes such as the convention centre, the Muttart Conservatory, the space sciences centre, the proposed aquarium for Cloverdale, and the Capital City Park. The valley was to be a show piece in the centre of Edmonton. The development proposals were always characterized as being in the public interest. Then, as the economic environment changed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, money for such projects became much more scarce. The public began to become even less tolerant than usual of them, as the extensive criticism of the cost of the convention centre made plain. In such a situation the opponents of the river valley land use policy were quick to point to the cost of acquiring the river valley residences as detrimental to the public interest. Furthermore, the City itself began to find that money for property acquisition was less readily available.

Changes in the social environment of the river valley neighbourhoods were central to the change in the river valley policy. What were traditionally blue-collar working class communities have experienced an in-migration of younger, well educated, upwardly mobile white-collar workers and some professionals. With these people there came a support for the ideologies of heritage conservation and preservation and the desire to live in the urban village

atmosphere of the valley neighbourhoods. These newcomers were vital to the development of protest against the river valley policy. Their training and education enabled them to read plans, to criticize them and to develop counter proposals. They also have a greater capacity to meet planners and politicans on equal terms than the older incumbent residents. Finally, the newer residents were able to take advantage of links to other white collar and professional workers in communities outside the valley and in institutions such as the University of Alberta, who could provide valuable assistance in opposing the proposed river valley bylaw. These social and economic changes represent a change in the nature of the protest constituents, due to gentrification. The newer residents were able to use their personal skills, their links to professionals and to wealthy and prestigous individuals, and their education as sources of power in the manner described by Troustine and Christensen (1982) and outlined in Chapter 2.

One vital aspect of the newcomers' abilities was their recognition that the communications media are a crucial element of the political system, not only as a means to channel their demands to the city council and the critical reference publics, but also because of their importance as a reference public themselves. In these capacities, the media may well have helped to create a climate of opinion sympathetic to the preservation of the river valley neighbourhoods, and so may have bolstered support for the

protest against the City's land use plan.

However, it cannot be said that the protest against the land use policy for the river valley was the sole factor that led it to be changed. The efforts of the S.P.R.V. and the residents served to publicize the dispute, successfully raised objections to the policy, discredited aspects of the policy and forced the city council to give consideration to alternatives other than removal of the neighbourhoods. This was all in marked contrast to other cases in Edmonton where neighbourhood residents were unsuccessful in their attempts to oppose municipal actions. Examples are the expropriation of residential properties on 97th Street between 115th and 118th Avenues for road widening, and the removal of 130 houses for the construction of the Yellowhead Trail. The residents in these areas were not able to organize themselves in a way that allowed them to bring their demands before the media and the public with any effectiveness. Unlike the river valley neighbourhoods, their protest did not influence the decision makers. Yet, even in the river valley case, for all the value of the protest against the City's land use plan, it is concluded that the change in policy was due ultimately to a change in the political system in the form of a newly elected city council and a commitment on the part of that council to retain the river valley communities. This represents a change in the composition of the protest target. The organizers of the S.P.R.V. realized well before the election of October 1983

that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to persuade a majority of the existing council to favour the community wishes. A shift in the pattern of council voting on the issue was vital if change were to occur. Throughout the election campaigns of 1983 the river valley continued to be a well publicized issue and a number of candidates, including Laurence Decore, a candidate for mayor, took an opposing stance to the incumbent mayor, Cec Purves, and his supporters. Decore pledged that if elected he would work for the preservation of the communities. The election of the new mayor and a number of new aldermen meant that the pattern of voting on the valley issue changed and the river valley land use policy changed as well. However, it must be noted that it is unlikely that the river was the issue on which the election was won and lost; it was one of an array of issues debated by the candidates.

The change in river valley policy by the city council in 1984 and the preparation of new plans for the valley communities represent the output of the urban political system. The outcome of this output has been a redirection in the focus of the community organizers and the planners. The concern is now with future redevelopment and effective resident participation in the plans for redevelopment through close contact between the local residents, and recently formed district planning program teams. However, as these changes start to feed back to the environment again, there is potential for conflict in the future since

the city planners wish to acquire part of Rossdale north of the MacDonald freeway and part of Cloverdale north of 97th avenue. It seems unlikely at this stage that the S.P.R.V. and other residents will agree to those proposals. The local community leagues have formed area redevelopment plan committees in order to monitor the direction which the city policy takes and to ensure that the residents desires for the future of the areas are heard.

There is also potential for future conflict within the valley neighbourhoods between the more recent and long-time residents. Some older retired residents wished to sell their homes to the City as a guaranteed buyer and to move to relatives or to senior citizens' residences. Their priorities differ greatly from those of the S.P.R.V. and they have seen the opportunity for a convenient sale removed, hence the potential for conflict. If the process of revitalization continues in the valley communities these older residents may still have the opportunity to sell at increased prices, but another source of conflict may then emerge. This is the problem of the involuntary displacement of older incumbent residents who find themselves unable to resist the pressures for change in revitalizing neighbourhoods.

8.2 Conclusions

1. The S.P.R.V. was a special interest group which came into existence due to the river valley dispute alone. The individuals who were members of the organization could easily be opponents in a future urban political issue. This reflects the pluralist view that within the urban political system groups are constantly coalescing and dividing issue by issue.
2. A relatively small number of valley residents were regularly active in organizing and participating in the protest against the river valley policy. However, a large number of the residents were motivated to become involved at least temporarily by writing a letter or attending one or two meetings, and the majority of residents, at the very least, supported the aims of the S.P.R.V. even if they were not active in the protest.
3. The development of an organized protest group owed much to the presence of the younger, upwardly mobile, white-collar residents and professionals in the communities, along with middle-class sympathizers outside the valley. Together, such people formed the core of the S.P.R.V.
4. The actions of the S.P.R.V., while playing a major role in thwarting the passage of the river valley bylaw and forcing the city council to give greater consideration to resident concerns and alternative scenarios, did not in the final analysis directly result in the change of

the river valley policy. The change was the result of the different composition of Edmonton city council after the 1983 civic election, but the fact that a different council was elected can be interpreted to mean that the valley protest was representative, in microcosm, of values that had come to be widely held in Edmonton.

5. The material reward dispensed by the decision makers to the valley residents was the change in the river valley policy. The symbolic rewards went to the general public and the media. The general public had the satisfaction of knowing that a policy which they perceived as costly for the taxpayers was defeated. The media were able to use the river valley dispute as good news copy, and some reporters had the opportunity to write high profile editorial comments concerning the issue.

8.3 Implications For The City Of Edmonton

1. In developing plans the planner must be able to take into consideration changes in the environment so that proposals do not become out of date or are based on situations which no longer exist. This means that constant monitoring and evaluation must be carried out from the earliest stages of the planning process through the implementation stages and into the ex-post evaluation stages. In this way neighbourhood changes, such as those which have been occurring in the river valley, may be recognized quickly and plannng proposals

adjusted accordingly.

2. The City as a corporate body and the local community organizers seem,in the past, to have had different conceptions of what citizen participation means. the city council and administration seem to regard citizen participation as informing and consulting while the community organizers call for participation in the form of community planners, in order that resident concerns can be directly incorporated into plans for the neighbourhoods. During the river valley dispute many residents felt that their concerns were not being given any consideration, although the presentation of a number of a number of scenarios for the valley, including retention, did reduce this feeling somewhat. Dialogue and cooperation between the actors in the planning process is vital from an early stage in order that plan development and implementation do not face frustrations and delays such as those experienced in the river valley dispute.
3. Having accepted that some kind of redevelopment is going to take place in the river valley neighbourhoods, it seems logical that it should include maintenance of their urban village atmosphere, since this is one of their positive features. However, any form of redevelopment may have unfortunate unforeseen consequences, such as the displacement of incumbent residents due to rising house prices.

8.4 Suggestions For Future Research

Now that the valley neighbourhoods have sucessfully secured their existence, future research could examine the course of redevelopment in the valley in order to determine if revitalization continues, in the form of gentrification. Secondly, future research could examine the role of community groups and organizations in the valley and elsewhere in the city, in the development of plans for the redevelopment of neighbourhoods, as part of the process of revitalization.

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Appendix 1 Questonnaire

Q1. Are you a member of any of the following community groups or organizations? (CIRCLE AS MANY AS RELEVANT)

LAVIGNE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION 1
ROSSDALE COMMUNITY LEAGUE 2
CLOVERDALE COMMUNITY LEAGUE 3
MILL CREEK BUILD A PARK ASSOCIATION 4
YUKON AND PACIFIC HOMEOWNERS ASSOCIATION 5
RIVERDALE COMMUNITY LEAGUE 6
GARNEAU COMMUNITY LEAGUE 7
SOUTH WEST EDMONTON VALLEY RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION 8
WINDSOR PARK/GLAMORGAN HEIGHTS RESIDENTS 9
GROAT ESTATES RESIDENTS 10
S.T.E.P. - SOCIETY FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION OF THE RIVER VALLEY 11
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE RIVER VALLEY 12
OTHER 13

Q2. Do you attend community group or community league meetings?..

NO 1
YES 2

Q2.A How often do you attend? (CIRCLE ONE)

ONCE A WEEK AT LEAST 1
ONCE A MONTH 2
ONCE EVERY TWO OR THREE MONTHS 3
ONCE OR TWICE PER YEAR 4

NOW GO TO Q2.B

Q2.B Can you tell me what formal posts exist in your local community league or organization and who fills these posts?

POST/POSITION	NAME

Q3. Which of the following best describes the pattern of activity of your community group or organization? (CIRCLE ONE).

CONSTANTLY ACTIVE IN THE COMMUNITY 1

ACTIVE ONLY WHEN A SERIOUS PROBLEM OR ISSUE ARISES . 2

Q4. The City of Edmonton has developed a number of proposals for the North Saskatchewan river valley, do you support,

ALL OF THE CITY PROPOSALS 1

NONE OF THE CITY PROPOSALS 2

SOME OF THE CITY PROPOSALS (SPECIFY WHICH ONES) . . 3

_____

_____

_____

Q5. Has the City of Edmonton ever contacted you personally in regard to the river valley proposals? (CIRCLE ONE)

NO 1

YES 2

↓

If yes, what did they say?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOW GO TO QUESTION 6

Q6. How have you expressed your opinions about the City's river valley proposals?

PERSONALLY TO CITY COUNCIL 1
PERSONALLY TO THE PLANNING DEPT. 2
THROUGH YOUR COMMUNITY GROUP OR ORGANIZATION 3
ALL OF THE ABOVE 4
NO OPINION EXPRESSED 5

Q7. Have you expressed your opinion about any other issue to City Council? (CIRCLE ONE)

NO 1
YES 2

If Yes, what issue?

_____
_____
_____

Q8. Do you feel the river valley communities have been fully supportive of each other in opposing the city's river valley proposals?

NO 1
YES 2

Q9. Do you regard the actions of some communities as being more successful than others in opposing the City's river valley proposals?

NO 1
YES 2

If Yes, which community or communities do you regard as being more successful in this respect?

_____

NOW GO TO Q9 A

Q9.A How do you rate your own community's response to the City's river valley proposal? (CIRCLE ONE)

HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL	1
INCONCLUSIVE AT THIS STAGE	2
MERELY DELAYING THE INEVITABLE	3
TOTALLY UNSUCCESSFUL	4
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	5

Q10. How would you rate the opportunity for citizen participation in the preparation of the City's river valley proposals? (CIRCLE ONE)

GOOD	1
ADEQUATE	2
POOR	3
NON EXISTENT	4

Q11. How would you rate the City council and planners consideration of community views, opinions, reactions regarding the city's river valley proposals? (CIRCLE ONE)

GOOD	1
ADEQUATE	2
POOR	3
NON EXISTENT	4

Q12. Below there is a list of considerations which may or may not have significance for the development of river valley policy. Please rank the considerations that you feel have actually been important in the development of river valley policy so far, using the scale of importance below.

1. MEANS VERY IMPORTANT
2 MEANS SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
3 MEANS NOT IMPORTANT
4 MEANS DON'T KNOW

CONSIDERATIONS		RANK OF IMPORTANCE (CIRCLE RELEVANT NUMBER)
A.	A need for more city centre parks and recreation facilities	1 2 3 4
B.	A desire to build the image of Edmonton in Canada and the U.S.A.	1 2 3 4
C.	Fears of a flood risk or bank instability problem	1 2 3 4
D.	A need to protect the river valley from development pressures such as apartments and high rises.	1 2 3 4
E.	Protection of the natural vegetation and wildlife of the river valley	1 2 3 4
F.	The historic significance of the river valley communities	1 2 3 4
G.	The use of the river valley for transportation routes	1 2 3 4
H.	The use of the river valley for the placement of major facilities EG aquarium, major ball park etc.	1 2 3 4
I.	The right of people to maintain homes where they wish	1 2 3 4
J.	Citizen participation in the development of river valley policy	1 2 3 4
K.	Other (SPECIFY)_____ _____	1 2 3 4

NOW ANSWER Q12.A

Q12.A Identify what you feel have actually been the two most important considerations in the development of river valley policy using the letters on the left above.

THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION [ ]

THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION [ ]

Q13. Whom do you feel the media have been more supportive of in reporting the river valley issue? (CIRCLE ONE)

THE PLANNERS	1
THE CITY COUNCIL	2
ALL THE RIVER VALLEY COMMUNITIES	3
ONLY SOME OF THE RIVER VALLEY COMMUNITIES.	4
(SPECIFY WHICH) _____	
EQUALLY SUPPORTIVE OF ALL	5

Q14. Do you feel that the planning department was simply carrying out the instructions of city council when developing the proposed river valley plan? (CIRCLE ONE)

NO	1
YES	2

Q14.A (If you answer No to question 14). Do you regard the river valley proposals as reflecting the desires of the planning department? (CIRCLE ONE)

NO	1
YES	2

Q15. What is the name of the community in which you live _____?

Q15.A How long have you lived in your community or neighbourhood _____ years?

Now I would like to ask some questions about family characteristics.

Q16. Where were you born?

EDMONTON 1
OTHER (SPECIFY) 2

_____

Q17. In what year were you born? _____

Q18. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

SOME GRADE SCHOOL 1
COMPLETED GRADE SCHOOL 2
SOME HIGH SCHOOL 3
COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL 4
SOME COLLEGE (INCLUDING TECHNICAL COLLEGE) 5
COMPLETED COLLEGE (INCLUDING, TECHNICAL COLLEGE) 6

Q19. What is the usual occupation of the principal wage earner in your household?

TITLE _____

Q20. In which of the following income groups does your family income belong? (CIRCLE ONE)

LESS THAN $20,000 1
$20,000 to $35,000 2
$35,000 to $50,000 3
$50,000 to $75,000 4
Over $75,000 5

Q21. How many children do you have in each age group living at home?

NO OF CHILDREN	AGE GROUP
_____	UNDER 5 YEARS
_____	5 TO 13 YEARS
_____	14 TO 18 YEARS
_____	19 TO 24 YEARS
_____	25 YEARS AND OVER

Q22. Do you own or rent your house? (CIRCLE ONE)

OWN 1

RENT 2

COMMENTS SPACE:

Please use the space below to make any comments you feel are important regarding the city's river valley policy, or your community organization. If you would like a summary of results please call 432-4158.

Appendix 2

Letter to the Editor, Edmonton Sun

Once again the members of the administration are trying to "pull the wool" over the eyes of city council and the general populace of Edmonton. They have drafted the North Saskatchewan River Valley Area Redevelopment Plan Bylaw 6353. In this bylaw they propose to purchase all the privately owned land in the river valley for a total projected cost of $124,000,000.

In their supporting documents they have two complete chapters which outline ancillary projects, studies, and programs which must be undergone. They all have budgetary implications, however, no figure is quoted or even estimated. Do you want to give an administration which has proven itself to be financially irresponsible a blank cheque to spend as they choose? The answer, of course, is NO!

The city administration's answer to funding for their project is outlined in Schedule B, Section II 10.4.1 "a special 'tax levy' for land acquisition within the Redevelopment Area". Do you wnat to give the city administration the power to levy an additional "special tax" on your property? The answer again is NO!

FACTS:

1. There are 2518 acres or 109,698,450 square feet of privately owned land in the river valley.
2. They wish to spend $124,000,000, however there is no

upward limit.

3. The purchase price indicates a value of $1.13 per square foot for land and buildings, again there is no upward limit.
4. The City of Edmonton SELLS unimproved building lots in new subdivisions for in excess of $6.00 per square foot.
5. The actual value of the land and buildings is in excess of $1 billion.
6. No law court in Alberta will allow the city to expropriate private land for one-tenth of the real value.
7. The city administration will have another "cost over-run".
8. The taxpayers will pay for the administration's mistake.
9. There will not be enough money for parks in other parts of Edmonton. Even last year only 3 of 16 communities that requested money were granted any for parks for their neighbourhoods.
10. If you live in a new area you will NEVER get a park and yet your special tax levy will be used to purchase or expropriate privately owned homes in a park 5 or 10 miles from your door.

What can you do? Be outraged! You are not going to find another massive project that is guaranteed to have incredible cost over-runs. Write city council a letter or go to the special public meeting at City Hall beginning 9.00am on May 7, 1981. Demand that they stop squandering your money.

Appendix 3

Notice Distributed to River Valley Residents by the S.P.R.V.

WHOSE TURN WILL IT BE NEXT!

On May 7th City Council holds a hearing on bylaw 6353, a bylaw which could plummet property values of hundreds of homeowners, uproot many citizens from their homes, and cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

Bylaw 6353 would be used to buy up your house or or houses near you to add to the already extensive parklands in the centre of the city. If it is passed, the property of home-owners in the valley and nearby would immediately be downgraded. A sword would be kept hanging over the heads of anyone who didnt choose to sell out to the city at the city's prices.

What's most menacing about bylaw 6353 is that it leaves vague how many homes will eventually be affected by it. The "top of the bank" is left undefined so many hundreds more homes could be included later, at the whim of the bureaucrats.

The scheme, says the city planning department, would cost a hundred and twenty-four million dollars. Real estate experts say it could cost several times more than that. And who will pay?...the Edmonton taxpayer.

And what good will be served? Simply to acquire a little more parkland where there already is plenty, in the

centre of the city. And which other areas will suffer? The parts of the city like Castledown and Mill Woods, which will be deprived of the money for the parks they so desperately need.

And what has city hall done to inform city hall of this iniquitous bylaw? None of the homeowners to be affected directly have been notified that they're on the city's "hit list". None of the people threatened with being included later have been properly notified. And yet in just a few days city council is holding its hearing.

DEADLINE FOR WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS TO COUNCIL IS APRIL 29.

DEADLINE FOR REGISTERING AS A DELEGATION IS MAY 4.

The Society for the Preservation of the River Valley; made up of 15 groups of valley residents, has organized an information meeting on WEDNESDAY APRIL 29, at J.H. PICARD SCHOOL, the corner of 88th Avenue and 95th Street at 7.30 p.m. We've asked city planners to come and answer our questions about the bylaw.. and we've invited aldermen to come too.

Please come to this important meeting yourself and bring your family and friends. The more people who show up, the more we'll convince aldermen we dont want our homes taken away from us! Lets stop the bylaw before it gets any further!